

# IN THESE TIMES

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40 Cents

## Who will decide Africa's future?

The multinationals think they will. See our exclusive report on their secret meeting. Page 9.



In Soweto, South Africa, on June 16, students scatter after police fire tear gas at mourners.

### In this issue

16,000 steelworkers on strike

*"Nobody can tell how long it will last," strikers say.*

3 Battered wife stands trial

*Accused of burning up her husband in fire*

6

San Franciscans say 'NO' to right

*Rightwing initiatives go down in resounding defeat*

4 *Colored Girls* goes on the road

*Hit Broadway play shows women's solidarity.*

21



# THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



## New report charges torture in Israel

On June 19, the *London Sunday Times* carried a report by a team of reporters on the unlikely subject of torture in Israel. The reporters concluded that "torture of Arab prisoners is so widespread and systematic that it cannot be dismissed as 'rogue cops' exceeding orders. It appears to be sanctioned as deliberate policy."

The *Times* report met with an angry denial from the Israeli government, which described the report as a "horror fiction." This was followed by a rebuttal from the *Times* reporters.

In the U.S. the media generally ignored the controversy. The *New York Times* highlighted the Israeli response, and the *New Republic*, after giving the most cursory summary of the report's contents, concluded that even if the report were true, "one may have to use extreme measures—call them torture—to deal with a terrorist movement."

On the other hand, a representative from Amnesty International told me that the findings of the *Times* reporters were "consistent with reports we have been receiving." In November, Amnesty International "called on the Israeli government to allow an independent investigation," but according to the AI representative, they had yet to receive a "positive response."

### The alleged tortures.

The *London Times* investigation centered on the fate of Palestinian Arab prisoners in the territories occupied by Israel since the six-day war in 1967. In those territories, political parties have been banned, and "security" suspects are detained for months without formal charges. But in addition, complaints of torture have been voiced since the late '60s.

The *Times* followed up the cases of 44 Arabs who claimed to have been tortured. In 22 of them, the prisoners agreed to be named in the story even though they still lived in the occupied territories. The *Times* reporters attached special importance to their stories.

The report deals at length with three cases that they claim are typical.

● Omar Abdel-Karim was arrested in October 1976 and released in late February of this year. He entered jail in reasonable health but emerged an "old man" at 35 years old, carried out on a stretcher, in a highly nervous state, unable to recognize his wife, with numerous internal injuries.

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In jail, he claims to have been subjected to electroshock and severely beaten, to have had a bottle forced up his rectum, and forced to witness his wife being beaten. In 1970 he had been jailed for possession of a revolver and had been accused of being a Fedayeen (member of the Palestinian Resistance), but this time he was not formally charged and was never brought to trial.

For corroboration, the *Times* relied on Abdel-Karim's lawyer, Felicia Langer, who is a refugee from the final solution and a Communist, and on the report of Swiss International Red Cross representative Bernard Munger who examined Abdel-Karim after his interrogation and brought pressure for his release.

● Ghassan Harb was a Palestinian Communist from the West Bank who worked for the local newspaper *El-Fajr*. He was arrested in 1974 and released in January 1977 without having been formally charged or brought to trial.

During that time, he claims to have been beaten and, with his hands tied and a black bag over his head, forced to occupy a "cupboard" too small to stand or sit in in which spikes covered the floor. He was also forced, naked and blindfolded, to crawl over sharp rocks in an exercise yard while his captors beat him.

Support for Harb's story came from five other inmates at the special interrogations center, who independently reported the same experiences, and from reports of Harb's condition before and after release.

● Josef Odeh was arrested in Jerusalem in February 1969, along with his three daughters. The Israeli authorities were reportedly interested in his daughter Rasmiah, who was suspected of terrorism. Odeh had to listen to his daughter being beaten, and then after he refused to sleep with her in front of his captors, he had to witness a stick being shoved up her vagina. Odeh was reportedly released after 20 days and never charged with any offense.

The *Times* report cites interviews with and shows pictures of other alleged torture victims. They include Shehadeh Shalalden, who was arrested in August 1969 and claims that a ballpoint refill was pushed into his penis; Jamil Abu-Cabiy, who says he was beaten on the head, body and genitals and forced in to lie in cold water during an eight-day interrogation in February 1976; and Zudhir Al-Dibi, who was arrested in February 1970, interrogated for ten days, and eventually sentenced to seven years for distributing leaflets, and who claims to have been whipped and beaten on the soles of his feet, had his testicles squeezed, and to have been hosed with cold water.

### The Israeli reply.

The Israeli government replied to the *Times* on July 3rd. They charged that the *Times* reporters had not talked to Israeli judges during their investigation and that the lawyers they consulted "make a practice of claiming that every client of theirs who makes a statement to the police does so under pressure."

In the case of Abdel-Karim, they noted that far from being an "old man" after his release, he was well enough to appear on Jordanian television two days later. They also claim that Harb suffered from hemorrhoids prior to his detention and that this was his major medical problem upon his release. They noted that he had had three medical examinations during his captivity and had not complained of torture.

They charged that, contrary to the *Times* report, Josef Odeh was found guilty after his interrogation of "participating in bomb outrages." In general they charge the *Times* with failing to mention the crimes for which "the people involved were found guilty." These were "acts of terror against civilians."

The government reminded the *Times* that torture was

illegal in Israel and that the government "reports to the Red Cross on every single prisoner from the territories."

### The *Times*' rebuttal.

The *Times* reporters made their rebuttal on July 10. They ignored Israel's complaint that they did not talk to Israeli judges, but on other points they offered an effective counter to the Israeli defense.

They claim that they could find no evidence of a television appearance by Abdel-Karim two days after his release and cite additional testimony of his extreme ill health from *Reuters* and *Christian Science Monitor* reporters who visited his bedside after his release.

They affirm that Harb suffered from hemorrhoids but see this as further evidence of mistreatment. Harb had been supposed to have an operation when he was arrested. In jail, "despite repeated requests by, among others, the International Red Cross, Israel then refused to operate."

They point out that only one of Harb's medical investigations while in jail occurred during his interrogation. The others occurred before. According to Harb, that investigation was "perfunctory" and produced an equivocal finding that there were "no signs of intentionally inflicted injuries." Harb also filed with the International Red Cross a complaint of torture during his captivity.

In the case of Odeh, the *Times* reporters challenged the Israeli story. Subsequently, the *Times* reports, the Israeli embassy admitted that Odeh had never been charged with or been guilty of "bomb outrages."

They also point out that the people they investigated were not, for the most part, "convicted terrorists," but "were never charged, let alone convicted, of anything." The *Times* reporters also reminded Israelis that their approach was not to determine guilt or innocence, but to investigate "how they were treated."

Finally, the reporters charge that contrary to the Israeli claims the International Red Cross has never been allowed to visit Israel's special interrogation centers. They challenge the Israelis to release the reports on Abdel-Karim's condition made after his interrogation by the Red Cross's Munger.

### The banality of evil?

Israel, of course, is not the only country in the Mideast to be accused of torturing prisoners. Amnesty International had leveled charges against Iraq, Iran and Syria. And as the *New Republic's* Seth Kaplan points out, even if the charges against Israel were true, they do not convict Israel of the use of torture on the scale it is used in some Latin American countries.

But torture is not simply, as Kaplan avers, "one of these evil banalities of modern life," on a par with drought and anomie. (Ironically, Kaplan may unintentionally have been echoing Hannah Arendt's famous book on the Nazi Adolph Eichmann, which she subtitled *a report on the banality of evil*.)

Taken together with the denial of political rights, the use of torture remains the surest sign that a government lacks the fundamental consent of the governed. For a magazine like the *New Republic* that purports to represent liberal ideas, it should be an indication that all might not be well in Israel's occupied territories, rather than giving rise to a callous and decadent defense of its use.

To find the *Times* case plausible, as I do and even the *New Republic's* Kaplan begrudgingly seems to, does not lead to denials that Israel should exist, nor that its practices are better or worse than its neighbors. It should lead to a recognition that within the occupied territories a state founded to defend Jewish national rights is attempting to rule Arab peoples against their will, and in the process is denying them their national rights.

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# Iron ore miners shut pits

By David Moberg  
Staff Writer

There's a makeshift fort these days at the gates of the Cleveland Cliffs Iron Company mine and mill in Republic, Mich. The 800 miners who take their turn at the fort—with its tents, flagpole, coffee pot, horseshoe and Jarts games—are pickets.

They are among the roughly 16,000 members of the United Steelworkers, mainly iron ore miners from the Minnesota and Michigan ranges, who went on strike over unsettled local contract issues on August 1.

The encampment in Republic catches the mood of these strikers, who have shut off supply of about four-fifths of domestically produced iron ore. Its name, a sign indicates, is "Fort Determined."

"They're determined to make whatever sacrifice is necessary for themselves, their families and the future," a member of Local 5440 says of fellow strikers. "Nobody can tell how long it will last. We hear 'record profit,' 'record tonnage,' 'we set a new record.' We want that to show in our paycheck."

## Money is only one issue.

More money is only one of the issues. Iron ore workers want an incentive payment plan like the one for workers in steel mills. Such incentives, paid for reaching negotiated levels of production, could add an extra 65 to 85 cents per hour to the miners' pay by some calculations. They failed to get it in the national contract and continue to push for it at the local level.

There are over 1,250 local issues in dispute at the 12 plants—represented by 17 locals—in the iron ore range. Three small steel fabricating and warehouse locals also went out on strike August 1, and at least

three more ore locals may strike at later dates.

There are disputes about health and safety, ventilation, seniority rights, union control of work schedules, relief time and various regulations in the operation of local mines and ore processing mills. They could easily tie up negotiators for a long time.

Steel mills will probably not be immediately affected. One-third of their ore supply comes from Canada and Latin America, and various sources estimate that most mills have a three to four month stockpile on hand. However, if the strike lasted well into the fall, the mills might not be able to build up a sufficient supply of ore to carry them through the winter months, when the supply is curtailed because the Great Lakes shipping lanes freeze.

Ore miners have demonstrated their militancy in a number of ways in recent years. In 1974 a number of locals struck over local contracts, and there have been several wildcat strikes over the past few years.

Iron ore local presidents unanimously rejected the national contract negotiated last spring. It was the first time that most had been included in the overall steel industry bargaining and their first experience bargaining under the restrictions of the Experimental Negotiating Agreement, which prohibits national strikes.

The contract and the ENA have been unpopular with iron miners, who solidly supported rebel union presidential candidate Ed Sadlowski last February and elected Linus Wampler, who supported Sadlowski's views, as district director.

Strike authorizations were solidly approved by the miners in June, when the companies broke off negotiations. Nego-

tiations resumed briefly just before the strike deadline, but were quickly dropped again. Locals polled their members again Sunday, July 31, to assess support. At the largest mine, U.S. Steel's pit near Gilbert, Minn., one-third of the local's members showed up for meetings and voted 935 to 64 in favor of the strike.

## Happy with International support.

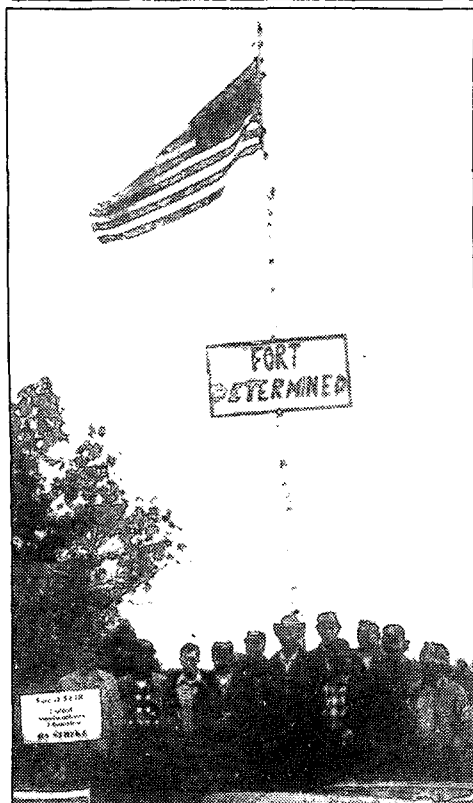
So far local union leaders are quite happy with the support given them by the new Lloyd McBride administration of the union. Union lawyers, for example, argued vigorously in Pittsburgh federal court against a company request for an injunction to stop the strike. Management claimed that the strike was a violation of the ENA, since many of the issues were what they called national, not local.

Although Judge Daniel J. Snyder Jr. refused to issue an injunction, he described the anticipated strike over the incentive issue as a "breach" of the ENA. Industry officials, who expected to buy complete discipline of labor with the ENA, were talking about scrapping the agreement, which was renewed for another three years in the current national contract. Union representatives, however, said that they would have been under great pressure to drop the ENA if the strikes had been stopped.

Many of the local demands other than the incentive issue reflect attempts by the union to expand the rule of seniority to areas, such as shift or job assignments within a category, that are not now governed by seniority. Workers also want more control over scheduling overtime and days off and generally more flexibility and decision-making power on the job.

There is a plethora of safety and health demands—for protective clothing, on-the-

Local disputes bring biggest steel shutdown since 116-day epic strike in 1959.



"Determined" strikers show colors.

job insurance representatives, on-site infirmaries and medical care, special electrostatic devices to control dust levels beyond the federal standards that miners say are too low, air conditioning in hot areas, and other protection.

"They wouldn't put a dog in those production truck cabs in the summer," one miner says. "The humane society wouldn't let them. I don't hate dogs but I'm more of a man-lover. If they pay tens of thousands of dollars for those trucks, they can afford \$300 for air conditioning."

Continued on page 4.



# Portugal takes big step backward

Land "reform" bill halts collectives, helps agribusiness

By Diana Johnstone

The week before the Portuguese parliament approved the new agrarian reform law that bears the name of the current Socialist Minister of Agriculture, Antonio Barreto, a regiment of Amadora commandos—the elite right-wing outfit that led the November 25, 1975 show of strength against the military left—carried out maneuvers in the southern province of Alentejo. The operation was to practice "intercepting guerillas who have landed in the south and are trying to make connections with the industrial suburbs of Lisbon."

Of course, guerillas are about as likely as Martians to "land" in Alentejo. They might, however, spring from the land—or from the Barreto "land reform," which could more appropriately be called a land counter-reformation. The new law, which significantly increases the size of holdings to be returned to their old owners, is likely to throw thousands of landless farmhands, who took over the huge estates following the April 25, 1974 revolution, out of work. For one thing, the Barreto bill will allow owners to keep land untilled for up to six years.

## A landmark decision.

Under-cultivation was a major cause of the poverty of the Alentejo peasantry under the old system of latifundia, vast estates of thousands of acres devoted to extensive rather than intensive cultivation, much of which was left fallow by absentee landlords. After the April 25 revolution, Alentejo peasants expropriated some two

and a half million acres, most of it organized as collective farms called Collective Production Units (UCP) which rapidly increased employment and production by bringing neglected land under cultivation.

The Barreto bill was approved by parliament on July 22 in the early hours of the morning—the time of day when most decisive political events seem to occur in Portugal. This was certainly one of the most decisive. It was a major landmark in the process undertaken by the Socialist government of prime minister Mario Soares of turning Portugal away from the socialist course taken by the Armed Forces Movement and written into the new Portuguese constitution.

Not that the bill aims at restoring the backward feudalism that prevailed in the region before April 25. Rather, it is meant to prepare the way for the development of capitalist agriculture, "agribusiness," on private farms of up to a thousand or, in some cases, 1,500 acres, according to the complicated point system, increasing the number of value points allowed a single holding from 50,000 under the original land reform authored by former Socialist Agriculture Minister Antonio Lopes Cardoso, to 70,000.

The political task of the Soares government has been to create conditions favorable to modern capitalism despite the widespread, although often vague and contradictory demand for socialism. To achieve capitalism in the name of socialism, Soares has played heavily on anti-communism, justifying measures against the interests of workers and peasants on the ideological grounds of breaking the Portuguese Communist party's supposed totalitarian hold on those sectors of the population.

The political campaign for the Barreto bill has involved vehement attacks on the

Continued on page 10.



## ELECTIONS

# San Francisco voters hold fast

By Joel Parker

**S**AN FRANCISCO—Monday, August 1, on the eve of one of the most pivotal elections in San Francisco history, the supporters of two propositions that would undo district election of supervisors prayed for rain. Candidly admitting they hoped for a low voter turnout, in which the affluent would vote and the poor and working voters would stay home, the proponents of Propositions A and B counted on bad weather, the unusual timing of this special election they forced by petition, the introduction of new voting machines and changes of polling places in scores of working-class neighborhoods to keep district election supporters from the polls.

Election day they got their low turnout—only 53 percent of registered voters. They also got trounced. San Francisco voters resoundingly endorsed the district election concept, smashing Proposition A 97,345 to 72,148 and B 112,236 to 62,322.

Proposition A, backed by the Chamber of Commerce and the majority of the 11 current supervisors, would have repealed district election of supervisors, passed only last November, and restored citywide voting.

Proposition B, engineered by right-wing supervisor and unsuccessful mayoral candidate John Barbagelata, would have undercut district elections by restoring citywide voting for supervisors, although imposing district residency requirements. Counted as a "reform" measure, and supported by small businesses, real estate interests and the Police Officers Association, B also would have recalled Mayor George Moscone, District Attorney Joseph Freitas and Sheriff Richard Hongisto.

## Grassroots campaign.

The unexpectedly lopsided mandate for district elections (polls had shown over half the voters undecided going into the last week) culminated in a massive, grassroots coalition campaign by community, labor, Democratic party and leftwing forces. The Save District Election forces regis-

## By wide margins San Francisco voters affirmed their support for district elections and beat back business efforts to reverse their decision.

tered thousands of new voters, distributed over a million pieces of literature and fielded over 2,000 volunteers.

The "no" vote margin surpassed the margin of victory last November, when district elections passed by only 11,000 votes. Voters in the heavily Latino Mission district, where district election volunteers led by La Raza en Accion Local registered 3,500 new voters and conducted massive canvassing and get-out-the-vote efforts, rejected A and B by 3-to-1 margins. Similar results were recorded in every minority and working-class neighborhood, while even some traditionally conservative areas swung behind district elections.

Rene Cazeneve, a member of Citizens for Representative Government, which had initiated the district election movement in 1970 and then painstakingly broadened its support from a handful of Haight-Ashbury activists to the eventually triumphant coalition, called the victory "a convincing demonstration that the people of San Francisco have had it with big business control of local politics."

## Don't let them buy City Hall.

The No on A and B campaign consistently hammered away at corporate support for expensive, citywide elections, using the slogan "Don't let them buy City Hall." They were aided by the stumblings of the current supervisors, who in the middle of the campaign voted to reduce business taxes, shifting a \$5 million burden to the property tax.

Surprisingly, the Chamber of Commerce low-keyed their support of Proposition A after heavily financing the anti-district elec-

tions campaign last November and spearheading the initiative drive that put A on the ballot. Yes on A forces raised but \$40,000, the same amount raised by the No on A and B Coalition.

Instead, most business money went to a separate No on B campaign, run by Democratic party regulars who raised \$150,000 for an extensive media campaign in defense of Moscone. Yes on B barely raised \$30,000.

Business support for No on B came as no surprise. Moscone as mayor, despite running as a left liberal, has cooperated with business interests, pushing through the Chamber-supported Yerba Buena Convention Center, supporting a performance arts center, and jumping on the anti-labor bandwagon during the abortive city workers strike of 1975.

Thomas Mellon, long a spokesman for San Francisco business, characterized Proposition B as potentially causing "chaos and political turmoil...that will discourage business expansion." Business support of Moscone was tied to a promise that a separate campaign be established that would not oppose Proposition A, although Moscone personally supported the district election movement.

## Candidates will make difference.

As to the Chamber's half-hearted effort on behalf of Proposition A, Bonnie Ladin, statewide organizer for the Campaign for Economic Democracy, which also participated in the No on A and B Coalition, theorizes that "when district elections passed, corporate interests were shocked at their potential loss of power. They

quickly realized though that they could live with district elections; many major cities have them. What they couldn't afford was to lose an all-out battle with business interests in the forefront. Now they can hope that the community/labor coalition splinters over candidates, and that they can push through business candidates in a majority of districts."

Whether the district election coalition can stay together is an open question. Despite Barbagelata's red-baiting attempts to portray the district election movement as a monolithic machine controlled by "radicals from the Community Congress," in truth the coalition ranged from conservative neighborhood groups to the Communist party and socialist Northern California Alliance, with most groups somewhere in the middle.

Most observers expect the coalition to fragment around the slew of candidates surfacing in every district. Over 100 have already announced their intention to fill the political vacuum at City Hall—the district election victory throws out the entire current board, a fact that accounted for much of the reform's appeal. Only five incumbents figure to have a chance in their districts. Four others, including the vitriolic Barbagelata, have vowed to retire from politics.

In a few districts efforts are underway to revive the Community Congress, an attempt to build a broad-based issue-oriented organization that would draft platforms and perhaps endorse candidates. Labor, which mobilized 600 rank and file unionists to work within the No on A and B coalition, is also considering setting up district inter-union political committees similar to the Congresses.

The fate of both efforts may largely determine how different a district election Board of Supervisors will look from the present one. The voters of San Francisco have convincingly said that it can't look any worse.

Joel Parker is a member of the San Francisco bureau of *In These Times*.

# Strike in the Iron Range

Continued from page 3.

Strike votes had been taken at 33 Steelworkers locals in early summer, with strikes approved by members in 28, but the contract agreement was reached in the basic steel locals without strikes before the August 1 deadline. The 16,000 members of Local 1010 at Inland Steel's East Chicago plant, for instance, approved their contract last week. Local president Bill Andrews, who succeeded Jim Balanoff, the new district director, says that the local's major victory was in raising all of the incentive plans that were paying very low levels.

The local also won more relief time for coke oven workers, greater seniority rights, pay for time apprentices spend in school, reduced cost of gloves and other improvements in items ranging from locker room conditions to reimbursement for meals. They did not win one big demand for restriction of forced overtime, which the international union withdrew as a national issue not open to local negotiation.

## Copper settlement.

In a completely different strike, copper miners, three-fourths of whom are Steelworker union members, were signing contracts with the last holdouts in a strike that started June 30. At the beginning of last week only 8,000 of 45,000 workers who struck were still on the picket line. The contracts have generally followed the pattern set by Kennecott, who settled early, much to the dismay of other companies.

The copper contract will bring an average of 85 cents an hour increase over three

## Despite corporate protests, miners press incentive issue. Showdown raises doubts about continuing the no-strike ENA agreement in steel.

years to workers who now average around \$7.30 an hour, according to union spokesman, Cass Alvin. The unions also negotiated increased pay for more skilled workers, broadening the wage differential that had narrowed in recent years but which still spreads from \$5 to \$12 an hour. Few fringe benefits were expanded, but there was a modest improvement in the pension and supplementary unemployment benefit funds. The copper contract did not include the first small steps toward job security that were in the earlier steel contract.

The copper strike, a usual occurrence that Alvin dismissed as corporate attempts at "inventory readjustments" and "insanity...caused by the corporations playing their game," has sparked speculation that next time the 26-union coalition representing the miners may negotiate on an industry-wide basis with the copper companies. Although that follows the steel pattern, Al-



Polaroid snapshot from picketers in upper Michigan reveals preparations for long strike, if needed, for money, safety and seniority. Rain this week, according to one of the men, did "not dampen our spirits" nor hinder preparation of venison stew at "Fort Determined."

vin doubts that there would be any effort to expand the ENA to copper.

## Accumulated anger.

Steelworker militants, who want both the right to strike nationally and locally and membership ratification of contracts, are watching the showdown on the iron range intently.

The local strikes now reflect not only dissatisfaction with this year's national contract but also accumulated anger over grievances that were not resolved three years ago. Joe Samargia, the 34-year-old president of Local 1938 at the Minntac mine, says, "We're ready to take 'em on. The men have taken their shit for too

many years. We finally got a chance to take on these local issues. You only get it once every three years. Now you do it. Otherwise you got to wait another six years, nine years and then you're too old."

Samargia carefully built for this strike by calling meetings of different sections of the mine to formulate local demands well in advance of the strike vote. Now he will take back to the members whatever settlement is reached at the bargaining table, even though he is not required to do that.

"I promised them from the beginning that when we got to the bitter end and have a pending settlement," Samargia says, "that I'd bring it back to them. If they don't like it, we'll go back for more."



## LABOR

# Farmworkers prepare for convention



The convention is expected to work on perfecting union machinery that already administers some 75 contracts.

For the first time in years the UFW does not have to face the powerful Teamsters union in the fields. Nonetheless, plenty of obstacles remain.

By Sam Kushner

The election focus of farmworkers in the California fields has temporarily shifted from winning elections for union representation to the election of delegates to the United Farm Workers' convention, scheduled for Fresno the last weekend of August.

For the first time in years the union does not have the powerful Teamsters union breathing down its neck, with its very existence hanging in the balance.

Thus, the focus of this convention is expected to be consolidation of the union, gains in contract negotiating and public mobilizing for new organizing drives in California and adjoining states.

There will also be "housekeeping chores," including perfecting the union machinery that administers the approximately 75 contracts already signed with growers. New officers will also be elected.

Simultaneously with preparations for the convention union negotiators through-

out the state are busily trying to wrap up about three dozen contracts with employers on ranches where the UFW has been certified as the bargaining choice of the workers, but where union agreements have not been reached.

The death knell for the Teamster forces in the fields came in mid-July in an election in the Lamont area among workers employed by the Sam Andrew's Sons ranch. There, in a campaign largely sparked by rank and file organizing, the UFW won a landslide vote—456 for the UFW, versus 98 for no union.

Campaigning for the "no union" position was Johnny Macias, better known as "Yellow Gloves" during the hectic 1973 season when he was one of the chief Teamster operatives in their effort to muscle in on farm worker organizing. After the UFW reached a jurisdictional agreement with the Teamsters last year Macias and some of his fellow "organizers" attempted to set up their own union to challenge the UFW, the International Union of Agricultural Workers.

"What we saw at Sam Andrew's Sons was the ultimate decomposition of the so-called International Union," says Jim Drake, in charge of the UFW's organizing drive in the Bakersfield/Lamont area. Pointing out that the Macias group has not won any elections in the Coachella Valley, he adds that they "have truly revealed themselves" by their campaigning for the "no union" position.

Even without the Teamsters threat, however, the UFW has faced a difficult situation in the Coachella Valley. Preceding the Andrews vote, the UFW participated in five trying elections in the valley. Although the union claims victory in at least two, challenged votes make the outcome in all five uncertain. Final results will depend upon how the California

Agricultural Labor Relations Board rules on the challenged votes.

Fred Ross Jr., a UFW organizer in one of those campaigns, described how the employer refused to submit a payroll list and how at one location labor contractors hired 42 workers and promised them nine hours pay each if they would vote "no union." These votes were among those challenged. "The company laid out about \$2,000 to get these people to vote," Ross says.

Another UFW organizer explained the meaning of the obviously illegal methods employed by the companies. "It pays for them to spend thousands of dollars to beat us, even if the election does get thrown out later. Each time they do it the Board orders a new election, but meanwhile the workers don't have a union or a contract for a whole year. The company has come out ahead no matter how you look at it."

While there is no shortage of "horror" stories about what has been happening in California's fields, there have also been a number on the brighter side, such as the one at the David Freedman Ranch in the Coachella Valley. There, at one of the strongest UFW bases, the workers won a new basic hourly wage of \$3.35 an hour, up from \$2.70.

In another precedent-setting move the employer agreed to set aside five cents per hour for each worker for a vacation fund. If this plan becomes more widespread workers who work several weeks at different ranches will be able to accumulate sufficient money at year's end to have, for the first time, a vacation with pay. A worker who worked 40 weeks annually would get two weeks vacation under this plan.

Sam Kushner is the author of *Long Road to Delano*.

## ECONOMY

## A plan to control inflation of necessities

By David Moberg

The worst part of the nation's inflation, now running at the rate of 8 percent a year, could be licked with a program aimed at stabilizing the costs of four basic necessities—food, energy, housing and health.

Yet Carter has done virtually nothing to curb rising prices. His energy plan, even in a dismantled form, will only make matters worse. Indeed, the problem cannot be tackled with any of the standard mechanisms of adjusting overall money supply or demand.

That is because we are now confronted with a "new inflation" caused by a variety of "structural" faults in the American economy. It can only be tamed by government policies that create new structures of producing and distributing those four basic necessities.

These are a few of the conclusions suggested by a new study, *Understanding the New Inflation*, published this week by the Exploratory Project for Economic Alternatives.

Without confronting inflation of these necessities, project directors Car Alperovitz and Geoffrey Faux write in an introduction to the study by Leslie Ellen McNulty, drives for full employment will continue to founder on the fears that jobs for all will mean unacceptably damaging price rises.

### 70 percent of income for necessities.

McNulty's analysis of government figures on family budgets shows that an average of 70 percent of the income of the bulk of American families—the four-fifths at the low-to-medium income levels—goes for food, energy, housing and health. Although the fraction increases for the very poor and drops for the moderately affluent, nearly all of these families have few options for cutting back without lowering their standard of living.

Conservation measures can provide some relief, McNulty says, but many of them require capital investments for new home equipment or transportation that

poorer people simply can't afford without assistance.

Since prices of these necessities have increased between 1970 and 1976 at a rate 44 percent higher than the prices of non-necessities, wage workers—who spend a disproportionately large share of their paychecks on the four necessities—have been hit especially hard. Even the few unionized workers with cost-of-living allowances in their contracts lose from this new inflation, since the consumer price index underestimates the weight of the four necessities in household budgets.

Inflation has thus not only held down wage earners' real purchasing power during the '70s, McNulty says, but also increased inequality in the country and dampened recovery after each recession period, as it is doing now.

Nearly every prognosis suggests that the new inflation will be with us far into the foreseeable future. Significantly, the prices of none of the necessities have been driven up substantially by increased labor costs. Obviously OPEC oil price hikes, and the increases in other energy costs that followed, were not a result of high hourly wages of oil field workers. In other industries, built-in waste and maladministration, expanded costs of middlemen, rising world demand for food, speculation in land and rising interest costs for mortgages, coupled with other structural features have spurred on the inflation.

### Policies inadequate.

The Nixon/Ford/Carter approach to inflation has operated on the assumption that there is a fairly smooth trade-off between inflation and unemployment. If unemploy-

ment rises, then inflation subsides as demand decreases and as labor is discouraged from pressing for higher wages. But that trade-off has not worked since the late '60s when the period of "stagflation" set in—the beginnings of what looks like a long-term economic slowdown in the major capitalist countries marked by simultaneous high unemployment and high inflation.

Some of the popular remedies for inflation even make it worse, like the proverbial gasoline on a fire. In one of the most obvious cases McNulty mentions, when the Federal Reserve Board tightens the money supply and pushes up interest rates in order to restrict spending, the cost of mortgages for new homes soars. As a result home construction slows down, throwing construction workers out of jobs, and homes become inaccessible to larger numbers of Americans.

McNulty reports that in 1965-66, the bottom one-third of families bought 17 percent of new homes, but in 1975-76 the same segment of the population bought only 4 percent of new homes.

The relative share of labor in the cost of a new house dropped from 17.3 percent in 1970 to 15.6 percent in 1974. Clearly the inflation of housing costs can't be blamed on overpaid workers.

Nonetheless, fear of greater inflation has tended to scuttle the feeble efforts so far mounted for full employment. Opponents of full employment policies may not care about the impact of inflation on the average working-class family's standard of living—or else they might have done something more effective to fight inflation—but fear of inflation has also been used

to dampen enthusiasm of potential supporters for a strong full employment program.

### Tailoring government policies.

In order to stop the "new inflation," government policies must be tailor-made and targeted for each major industry producing the basic necessities, the report concludes. This could include not only price controls but also industry reorganization. In medicine that could mean, in addition to ceilings on prices, a shift of emphasis toward outpatient treatment, preventive medicine and elimination of the inflationary payment policies of Blue Cross and other insurance companies.

Food prices might be held down by cutting out middlemen, moving away from energy-intensive farming or providing easy financing for family farmers and curbing corporate and tax-shelter land speculation.

Stopping inflation thus demands a dramatic move in the direction of greater public planning of the economy, allocation of resources, and selection of production processes, as well as direct control of prices. Such a plan would face the difficult question of defining what is a necessity, although there is a precedent with such legislation in electric utility "lifeline" pricing.

McNulty suggests that a necessity is a "commodity for which demand does not fall proportionately when its price rises."

Although the Exploratory Project's report lets Carter off very easy, the thrust of the study is a thorough rebuke of the administration's policies. Tinkering with interest rates, allowing unemployment to remain at high levels, urging people to wear cardigan sweaters and ineffectively "jawboning" with major corporations have not and will not deal with the "new inflation."

It is clear that if the well-being of the vast majority of Americans is not to slip perilously in the coming years, control of the production and the pricing of food, energy, housing and health in the interest of stable provision of necessities for all is unavoidable.



## FOCUS ON WOMEN

# Self-defense standard at stake in Michigan trial

By Linda Grant  
Pacific News Service

**D**ANSVILLE, MICH.—The defendant is Francine Hughes. She is 29, the mother of four children—and the ex-wife of a man police say she burned alive at their home last winter in this small town outside Lansing.

Earlier on March 9, police had come to the Hughes home to break up a fight between the couple. As he slept later, they say, she set the fire, bundled her children into the car, and drove to the Ingham County Sheriff's department, where she allegedly yelled to deputies: "I did it. I did it. I burned him up."

When Francine Hughes stands trial in October she will bring with her a sheaf of police reports and testimony from friends and neighbors showing that for a decade James Hughes, the dead man, had subjected her to repeated beatings and psychological abuse.

"This case may well set a new standard for self-defense," said Nelson Brown, a founder of the Francine Hughes Defense Committee. Continued abuse over an extended period, rather than a single threatening incident, he argues, may be established as the basis of a self-defense plea.

"We are not condoning a woman's killing of her husband, but we must give these women [battered wives] alternatives to deal with so this kind of tragedy doesn't happen again," said Carrie Sandahl, another defense committee member. "We feel that, because Francine was given no other alternative but to defend herself in the best way she knew how, all charges against her should be dropped."

Hughes is faced with two charges: first-degree murder, implying premeditation, and felony murder, a charge used when someone died during the commission of a felony—in this case, arson. Bail is normally denied in first degree murder cases.

"I feel that she has been overcharged," says Aryon Greydanus, Hughes' court-appointed attorney, adding that the felony

murder charge is the same as one lodged against suspects in a recent bank robbery in which a Lansing police officer was killed.

Ingham County District Judge Robert Bell, who bound Hughes over for trial, declared during that hearing: "Were I not a judge, my initial reaction would be one of compassion and I would think bond should be set. I do not believe Hughes will leave the area." Under the law, he said, "my hands are tied."

Aside from the legal issues, the case has raised provocative questions about the public's attitudes toward battered wives and, Hughes supporters maintain, it provides insights into the practical and psychological barriers that prevent a woman's escape from such a situation.

Francine and James Hughes were high school sweethearts in Jackson, Mich., and they married before she completed high school. They moved to nearby Dansville. The four children were born within six years.

But according to her friends the marriage was marked from the beginning by James Hughes' violence toward his wife.

Betty Cover, Francine's classmate in secretarial courses at Lansing Business University at the time of James Hughes' death, says Francine told her Hughes beat her before their marriage but that she expected things to change. "I was so naive," Francine told the woman.

In the six months before James Hughes' death, Betty Cover says she frequently noticed large bruises on Francine's body, which Francine told her were caused by "spankings" her husband gave her after the two fought verbally.

"He was very jealous of her," Cover said, explaining that he frequently showed up unexpectedly during an hour break in Francine's classes to check up on her.

The marriage ended in divorce in 1971, and Francine moved back to Jackson. Shortly after, however, James was seriously injured in an automobile accident, which occurred after an argument with Francine. According to Francine's attorney, Hughes' parents pressured her into returning to Dansville to care for him.

With the help of an Aid to Dependent Children grant, she purchased a home next door to the one where James lived with his parents. James apparently spent large portions of time at both houses, and the complaints of physical abuse of Francine began again. Police were called to the home on a number of occasions, and Hughes was jailed at least once, although Francine apparently never pressed charges against him.

Francine Hughes' enrollment at the business school was an attempt to get off welfare. Her ex-husband's resentment over her return to school was the focus of the argument that brought police to the Hughes home on the afternoon of March 9.

James Hughes allegedly became angered when Francine began to prepare quick frozen meals after returning from morning classes. During the fight, James tore up and burned some of her textbooks and notebooks.

The house fire broke out several hours later, after James had fallen asleep in the bedroom. Hughes died of smoke inhalation and was found near the bedroom door.

Linda Grant, a Detroit writer and sociologist, teaches at Wayne County Community College.

## Another judge condones rape

A California judge has joined Madison, Wisc. Judge Archie Simonson in ruling rape a normal male reaction.

Clifford Alan Hunt had been accused of raping Chris Tobin, a waitress he picked up hitchhiking on a Los Angeles freeway. Judge Lynn D. Compton ruled that a woman entering a man's car "has less concern for the consequences than the average female," and that "women hitchhikers should anticipate sexual advances from men who pick them up."

"Rape of hitchhikers is a common occurrence in Los Angeles," says Joan Robins, co-director of the local Rape Crisis Hotline, "because not every woman has access to a car or public transportation."

"The judge should have given a warning to men that a hitchhiker is not offering service. Instead, he warned women they should not hitchhike," she adds.

California State Senator Alan Robbins, who sponsored anti-rape legislation last year, says women's groups and legislators have worked to create an environment where women aren't afraid to report rape and in the last four years the rate of women reporting rapes rose from 10 to 60 percent in the Los Angeles area. Now, he says, women will be more hesitant to report rape.

A coalition of women's groups picketed the Los Angeles Court of Appeals last week, protesting the ruling. The groups will work to have the judge recalled and the ruling overturned.

The Labor department official added, "This is our position, and I don't care if it's on the record or off the record."

—Her Say

## No abortions for young, poor and rural

Young, poor and rural young women are those most likely to be denied abortions.

This is the finding of the third annual survey on abortion in the U.S. by Planned Parenthood Institute. The poll showed that legal abortions in the U.S. increased by 8 percent last year, to 1,115,000.

The study found, however, that 80 percent of public hospitals and 70 percent of non-Catholic general hospitals refused to perform abortions. As a result, Planned Parenthood says, "The poor, rural and very young women are the most likely to be denied abortions," because, the Institute says, "they are least likely to have the funds, the time or the familiarity with the medical system" to obtain them.

—Her Say

## Abortion funds cut off

The ink was not dry on U.S. District Court Judge Thomas A. Dooling's ruling—lifting his injunction prohibiting implementation of the Hyde amendment—August 4 when HEW Secretary Joseph A. Califano cut off virtually all federal funds for abortion.

Although HEW regulations generally take months to write and promulgate after legislation of court decisions, Califano notified all state medical agencies, state medical societies and regional HEW offices immediately that federal funding for abortions is essentially cut off. The only abortions still covered, he said, are those in cases of ectopic pregnancy. Ectopic pregnancies are those occurring outside the womb.

A sampling of abortion services contacted by IN THESE TIMES said they would wait for final notice from state agencies but expected to perform no abortions for Medicaid patients after August 6.

Federal funds have covered 50 percent of the cost of abortions, with states paying the remainder. States now have the option of continuing to subsidize abortions, paying 100 percent of the cost. Several states have recently passed laws barring the use of such funds for abortion, however. Other states, while wanting to continue paying for abortions may be unable to bear the cost of federal funds.

"Many abortion facilities will be confused and just stop performing abortions for women on state aid," says JoAnne Fischer Wolf of National Women's Health Network. "This will hurt the women. There will probably be ways to get around this ruling, but they won't know about them."

The Hyde amendment will be enforced until September 30, 1977. Until that date, poor women are expected to fall back on generally nonexistent "private resources" to finance abortions. Observers predict a rise in illegal, cut-rate abortions.

Calling Califano's swift action "the last straw," Wolf announced a coalition of women's and health groups in calling for sit-ins Thursday, August 11 at 11:00 a.m., "the eleventh hour." Protesting Califano's "total disregard for the health and welfare of American women," the demonstrators will demand Califano support the Brooke amendment to next year's HEW appropriations bill.

This year's Hyde amendment expires Sept. 30, and similar wording appears in next year's bill. The Brooke amendment, while still restricting abortions, has much more liberal wording and would allow federal funds to be used for many more abortions.

—Compiled by Judy MacLean

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## CITIES

# I-Hotel tenants evicted by police

**By Chester Hartman**  
**S**AN FRANCISCO—I am writing this from inside the International Hotel on Wednesday night, August 3. Sometime between now and next Tuesday—barring another court stay of eviction (and no one thinks there will be another one)—Sheriff Richard Hongisto's men, backed by the police, will forcibly enter the Hotel and remove everyone inside.

Rumors of tear gas, dogs, a roof landing by helicopters, use of fire engine ladders for window entry about, and all are possible. When it comes down to the final crunch, few people really believe that the demonstrators' chant, "The people united will never be defeated," applies to this eviction.

San Francisco Mayor George Moscone, who survived a conservative recall effort yesterday (See story page 4), despite early efforts to help the hotel, has proven unwilling to follow through. Under public pressure earlier this year, he convinced the Housing Authority to take the Hotel by eminent domain, using a city loan, for resale to the tenants. But in late May the courts held the plan illegal.

The Housing Authority, city and tenants are appealing the decision, and are confident they can get it reversed. But meanwhile, the courts have thrown the tenants a legal curve ball: both the California Court of Appeals and California Supreme Court have refused to grant a stay of eviction until that appeal can be heard, which will take months. Thus there seems to be no avenue left to stop the eviction.

The tenants have also come up with a new plan to save the hotel, which calls for the Housing Authority to own the hotel

permanently, with the tenants operating via a management contract. That arrangement would bypass the court's objections to the earlier plan. It also would end the eviction threat, as the filing of a legal eminent domain action would give the Housing Authority a writ of immediate possession, effectively canceling the eviction order.

In a two-hour meeting on July 6 the tenants presented their plan to Moscone and his aides. He rejected it, offering a series of objections—some "legal," some political. The tenants and their attorneys then drew up a detailed refutation of the mayor's objections, which they submitted to him on July 15. But he has refused to meet with them, or to respond to their points.

An attempted sit-in at the mayor's office by 14 tenants last Friday, in an effort to force a meeting, produced a promise to file an appeal in the federal courts (which the mayor did not follow up on) and the calling in of the police Tac Squad who threatened to drag the elderly tenants out if they did not withdraw.

While there appears to be widespread support for the tenants' struggle throughout the city—demonstrations have brought out 3,000-5,000 supporters—the local media has been adamantly opposed.

Even the *New York Times*, 3,000 miles across the country, attacked the hotel struggle in a misinformed editorial snidely titled "The Flop House as Landmark," referring to the recent placement of the hotel on the National Register of Historic Places in honor of its role in the Filipino immigration into the city.

All is not lost if the eviction is carried out, however. There still will be a fight around the building itself—to prevent demolition and to move the tenants back in.



Now in its ninth year, the fight to save San Francisco's International Hotel and to protect the tenants who now live there is not likely to end with the eviction.

National Register of Historic Places designation delayed the demolition process, since an environmental impact report must be prepared prior to receipt of a demolition permit.

The tenants will work to delay any demolition until either the appeal on the original eminent domain plan can be heard or further pressure can be mounted to force Mayor Moscone to accept the tenants' new plan and file a new eminent domain action.

Support from the leaders of the No on A and B group (the winners in yesterday's special election) plus pressure and endorsement from prominent political figures, is

being mobilized behind the hotel. Now in its ninth year, the fight to save the International Hotel is not likely to end, even if the sheriff and police win the eviction battle.

**[Editor's update:** At 3:30 a.m. Thursday, August 4th, a few hours after this article was written, approximately 350 Tac Squad police evicted the International Hotel tenants and about 1,000 supporters. The eviction, relying heavily on mounted police, lasted two and a half hours, with 18 reported arrests and a few reported injuries.]

*Chester Hartman is a city planner who has been acting as a housing consultant to the International Hotel Tenants Assn.*

## NUCLEAR WEAPONS

# Atom scientists busy on new weapons

**By Jon Stewart**  
*Pacific News Service*

**L**IVERMORE, CA—While the Carter Administration affirms its commitment to reversing the nuclear arms race, some of the nation's top nuclear weapons scientists here have charted a five-year development plan, based on Defense department needs, calling for a substantial increase in nuclear weapons development.

The Lawrence Livermore Laboratory's nuclear weapons forecast could return weapons research and development levels to a pace near that of the early and mid '60s, when weapons in the current stockpile were being built.

Despite President Carter's hints of nuclear cuts, morale among the nearly 3,400 scientists in the weapons program here is high. They were not displeased with the appointment of Harold Brown, a former lab director with an expert background in nuclear weapons research to head the defense department. And they share open admiration for James Schlesinger, the new energy chief who will oversee the Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA).

### Rosy picture for growth.

The lab's fiscal 1977 nuclear weapons budget represents an 18 percent increase over the previous year, reversing a decade-long trend of stagnation on nuclear weapons research. And if Defense department plans for weapons development do not change significantly, the lab's "national security" budget will continue to grow in real dollars from \$156 million in fiscal 1977 to \$202 million in fiscal 1978.

While this is a small part of the roughly \$2.4 billion spent annually on nuclear

### Despite rumblings from Carter, nuclear scientists are confident about their future research.

weapons systems (not counting costs for missiles and bombers), many agree it is the most vital part. For it is here and at a sister facility in Los Alamos that the new ideas are developed that pave the way for a new billion-dollar weapons system.

Among the lab's projections, gleaned from public documents and interviews with top administrators:

- At least one new nuclear weapons system will be introduced into the nation's stockpile each year;
- An average of three to five new systems will be in full-scale development at any given time, up from none several years ago;
- Conceptualization and preliminary design of future weapons systems—those short of actual engineering and development—will be increased by at least two-thirds.
- Work will be completed on the giant Shiva fusion laser, the world's largest, which besides future civil energy applications will have immediate applications for simulating some aspects of nuclear weapons testing in the lab.

### Tactical emphasis from lab.

Among weapons systems scheduled for completion by the labs over the next five years are a new warhead for the Lance surface-to-surface missile in Europe; a new warhead for the Army's eight-inch nuclear cannon in Europe; a new strategic bomb designed for the B-1 bomber and other carriers; new increased-yield warheads for the Minuteman III intercon-

tinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs); and warheads for the new Trident submarine-launched ballistic missiles.

Other weapons expected to move into full-scale development over the next few years include warheads for the advanced cruise missile and the proposed mobile ICBM known as MX. Both the Army and Navy are also pushing for development of new warheads for their own sea and land-based tactical weapons systems.

Lab directors say a recent emphasis on tactical nuclear weapons—designed for striking specific localized targets as opposed to strategic systems for mass devastation—is in large measure a result of the lab's own work.

"This [tactical emphasis] is an area where we did go off without a request from the Defense department and do some experiments to establish the credibility and to establish that indeed those weapons could be built in reasonable sizes," says Michael May, an associate lab director and former SALT negotiator for the Defense department.

May says that future weapons work will put heavy emphasis on "cleaning up" the unwanted side effects of tactical weapons, such as radioactive fallout, and continuing to reduce size and weight.

### Test ban would be a setback.

The only blight to the otherwise optimistic atmosphere among the weapons scientists is President Carter's suggestion last February of the possibility of a unilateral nuclear test ban.

The scientists, remembering earlier moratoriums and partial bans, reacted with a mixture of concern and disbelief.

"I don't think the Congress would agree with it and I don't think we could do it," said May. "It would bring, if not to a halt at least essentially to a halt, nuclear weapons development... My own opinion is that it shouldn't be done."

Lab director Roger Batzel, however, acknowledges that in the event of a complete test ban, the laser fusion technology being developed at the lab could provide some aspects of "simulated" nuclear weapons testing to continue inside the lab.

The current Argus laser and its offspring, the 20-30 trillion watt Shiva, are capable of producing mini-thermonuclear explosions in a confined environment. This enables scientists armed with sophisticated computers to analyze some of the physical and chemical properties of weapons without actually detonating them.

Marv Gustavson, the lab's assistant associate director for military systems, recently summed up the lab's confidence in its future: "It seems that in each successive decade or so we've seen a major innovation, a major change, an addition to our capabilities. And nuclear explosion technology is just like that."

"When you realize the wealth of developments that are possible in the nuclear arena," he says, "it is hard to foresee an end to our work."

*Jon Stewart is a PNS editor specializing in military and defense affairs. This article was prepared with the research assistance of Brent Stuart and financial assistance from the Washington-based Military Audit Project.*



# Strike and reorganization in post office

Casting themselves as "reformers," conservative Republicans set out to transform the Post Office into a business in their mold.

By Lawrence Swaim  
In April 1967 President Johnson appointed a commission to study the Post Office, headed by Frederick Kappel (chairman of the board of AT&T), and composed of several executives of large corporations, the president of the Bank of America, George Meany and a couple of lawyers. By June 1968 their report was out, recommending a government corporation that would be able to raise the billions necessary for a new postal technology. By March 1969 postal management was hiring PR people out of its Government Relations Office openly to lobby Congress for reorganization.

At the same time a new cadre of "businesslike" managers were being brought in, many of whom had extensive contacts in the corporations and were identified with the conservative wing of the Republican party. While the main thrust of reorganization was capitalization for a technological breakthrough (ITT, Aug. 3), political motives were also at work.

## Republican "reforms."

For decades the Republican party had been thirsting to wrest the Post Office away from the Irish-Catholic wing of the Democratic party, where it had consistently been used to bolster the Democratic political interests.

The effort to make the Post Office run like "a regular business" had advantages for conservative interests as well. They could announce to the world that they would create a postal system in which revenues could match expenditures—in which the Post Office could "pay for itself," and if this turned out to be impossible or necessitated unreasonable rate increases they could blame it on labor costs, focusing public resentment on the unions. At the same time they could maintain preferential rates for business mail.

So the Republicans busily cast themselves in the role of "reformers," and with Nixon in power "postal reform" became a chief Republican priority.

## Strike from below.

While the high-powered political jockeying went on at the top, tensions were building up in the postal unions, particularly on the East Coast, where they were best organized and had been talking strike for some time.

Despite the boom in private sector wages throughout the '60s, wages for federal workers lagged. Organized public employees were still fighting for the most basic trade union rights, most importantly the right to be recognized by, and bargain collectively with an employer. The upsurge in militancy among public employees on the state, county and municipal level seemed to have bypassed the federal level, where penalties for striking appeared too high.

Congress, which was responsible for setting wages in this sector, simply sat on them. Postal workers were most affected by this. There were instances in the larger cities where postal workers received salaries so low they qualified for welfare.

Then, in March, 1970, in New York City, the two largest locals of letter carriers walked off their jobs, followed shortly by the nation's largest local of postal clerks.

Nixon sent Army recruits to work the New York postal facilities, but the strike rolled westward, particularly affecting the large cities.

During the next few days it is estimated that several hundred thousand postal workers participated in some kind of strike activity. In San Francisco there was a three-day walkout, led by the postal clerks' shop steward council, which result-



Richie Berger

## POSTAL FOLLIES

THIRD IN A SERIES OF FOUR

ed in a total shutdown of machine operations during that period.

## A deal with Nixon.

By all accounts both the government and the top leadership of the postal unions were stunned by the disruption caused by the strike. Top union leadership immediately disavowed the strike, but at the same time moved into negotiations with the executive branch.

President Nixon and his advisors saw a chance to put over the "reform" they had been working so hard for. In return for an amnesty for all strikers and hefty wage increases, the Nixon administration received—as part of the settlement—the support of the union leadership for postal reorganization.

Behind this action lay two lines of thought: First, the main reason for the existence of any union is to bargain collectively with an employer. The postal unions could not do this, but rather had to petition Congress. This resulted not in collective bargaining, but collective begging. Postal reorganization would result in an identifiable employer with which the unions could bargain.

Second, top union leaders believed that as postal functions moved closer to the private sector, so too would their chances of receiving the right to strike. Postal workers, however, still do not have the right to strike.

## Reorganization.

There had been considerable debate in Congress over postal reorganization. But with the support of the top union leadership for Nixon's scheme, further debate seemed academic. The Postal Reorganization Act was passed in the summer of 1970, to become effective July 1, 1971.

The act made several essential changes in transforming the old Post Office into the new U.S. Postal Service.

- The USPS was authorized to raise \$10 billion for capital investment in new machines, buildings and technology, which it could raise both by offering bonds on the private money market, and by borrowing from the Treasury.
- A Board of Governors would constitute the new management and would have final authority over investment.
- The rate and wage-setting functions would be taken away from Congress and given to the Board of Governors.
- The old system of political appointment was wiped out, and a new system of

recruitment to top management directly from the large corporations was instituted.

Although Congress could no longer appoint local postmasters, the nine members of the Board of Governors were to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. These nine members then elected a Postmaster General and Deputy Postmaster General, creating an 11-person board. Board tenures were limited and staggered, and members were required by the reorganization act to be bi-partisan (no more than five out of the nine could be from one political party).

The appointees were, however, precisely the kind of men one would expect Nixon to appoint—a realtor, a big rancher, a former staff director of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, and the usual gaggle of big business types, including the chief executives of both Sinclair Oil and Exxon. There was also a lone academic, Robert L. Hardesty from the University of Texas, a political associate of LBJ.

At the heart of the Nixon approach to reorganization was the idea that the USPS could "pay for itself." At the present time—nearly six years after the legislation went

into effect—the taxpayer still subsidizes the USPS for about \$1.5 billion a year.

## A new form of organization.

Journalists and writers of various persuasions (including Postal Service PR staffers) have had a difficult time finding a name for this new American institution. It has been incorrectly called a corporation, and for a few years was known as a "quasi-public corporation," but the expression "government corporation" is probably most accurate.

But in fact the USPS is, in many ways, an entirely new phenomenon in this country, one for which we really have no name. Neither completely in the private nor the public sector, it tends to combine the most repressive and least democratic features of both.

Its major tendency is to insulate from unions and particularly the paying public all control of its operations. Perhaps in more ways than we wish to admit, it is the American institution of the future.

*Lawrence Swaim is a former postal worker and leader of the Postal Clerks union. He is the author of Waiting for the Earthquake.*

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# IN THE WORLD



Bruce Gordon/Byron Jones

## Curbing African revolution

**G**ENEVA, SWITZERLAND—Remember the battle for the “hearts and minds” of the Vietnamese? Well, pick up any newspaper and you’ll see that a similar set-to is underway in southern Africa. To be sure, the weapons being used are somewhat different. While the “other side” has stuck to the standard formula (Cuban advisers, AK-47 attack rifles), the U.S. has gone over to the soft sell. Instead of sending in the Marines, UN ambassador Andrew Young has been landed to peddle black capitalism. There are no B-52s over Zaire’s Shaba province this spring. Carter sent Coca-Cola and medicine, leaving the dirty work to France and its Moroccan allies.

But Washington’s new approach to curbing revolutionary nationalism in black Africa rests on a firmer basis than Young’s appeals and selective doling out of arms. An emerging strategy of containment can now be seen.

First, in the short term, friendly African troops, not Western soldiers, will counter attempts to “export revolution” from, say, Angola, Ethiopia or Mozambique.

The perennial task of shoring up pro-Western regimes in strategic Zaire will no longer be assumed by Belgian paratroopers. Thus, the latest flare-up in the ex-Congo was handled by Moroccan infantry, with Egyptian and Sudanese troops in reserve. The aim is clear. As Nixon “Vietnamized” the Indochina conflict to ease domestic criticism of the war, Carter now wants to “Africanize” the containment of revolutionary nationalism in southern Africa and avoid the onus of racism and neo-colonial intervention.

Second, and more important, there is now general agreement in Western capitals (with the possible exception of Paris) that in the long run force cannot be relied upon to curb revolutionary nationalism in southern Africa. It is accepted that Smith is finished in Rhodesia and that the white minority regime in South Africa is coming apart under the pressures of black discontent and economic recession.

The long run strategy relies on the pow-

**A secret meeting of multinationals in Geneva July 5 plotted a strategy for black Africa. The press was barred, but our correspondent filed this report. It reveals the multinationals’ plan to block genuine black independence.**

er of the multinational corporation to develop enclaves within the African economy and to use their economic power to keep rebellious African states in line. That became apparent in a meeting last month in Geneva.

### Dump Vorster.

On July 5, 1977, 36 multinational company executives gathered in Geneva’s Hotel Intercontinental to attend a “Roundtable on Strategic Planning for Black Africa.” Most of the well-known transnational firms were represented: Alcan Aluminum, CPC International, Du Pont, Fiat, General Electric, Gulf, IBM, Massey-Ferguson, Mitsubishi, Nestle, Owens-Illinois, Rhone-Poulenc, Swedish SKF, Warner-Lambert and—interestingly—the Yugoslav state trading agency, Energoinvest.

The stage had been set over two months earlier, in Washington and Johannesburg. In mid-April 1977, Harry Oppenheimer, head of the sprawling Anglo-American mining and banking consortium in South Africa, flew to the American capital to discuss his country’s—and southern Africa’s—future with Secretary of State Vance. A liberal and, by virtue of his company’s economic clout, perhaps the most powerful figure in South African public life, Oppenheimer speaks for the growing segment of that country’s business community that

sees apartheid in South Africa and white minority rule in Africa as barriers to economic growth and vital foreign investment. His meeting with Vance was widely interpreted as a signal that the Carter administration had finally decided to abandon its strategy of working for change in South Africa through Premier John Vorster and the more “pragmatic” faction of the Afrikaaner body politic.

But one can go further than that. The decision to dump Vorster also signifies final abandonment by American policy-makers of the Vorster style in contending with revolutionary nationalism in Africa: reliance on force to keep the lid on in the hope that the pot will stop boiling. Henceforth, the aim will be to contain and distort the nationalist thrust by economic means—through the pay packets and investment portfolios of the multinationals. This change in American policy rests on two sound observations: that no black African regime can survive for long without capital investment and jobs for its masses of unemployed; and that even such militant Marxists as Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe’s Patriotic Front believe (rightly or wrongly) that multinationals are the surest source of capital and jobs.

Young said it all during his brief visit to South Africa last May (at the invitation of Harry Oppenheimer). Speaking to 100 business leaders in Johannesburg,

Young said, “This is the opportunity for change through the marketplace. Change that is non-violent, productive, and humane. This is what our system can do better than any other so-called revolutionary system going.”

### Key African markets.

Back in Geneva, Young’s words must have been ringing in the ears of the “Roundtable” participants as they began their day with a briefing on “Africa Today” by Colin Legum, the Africa editor of the London weekly, *The Observer* (recently acquired by the American oil multinational, Atlantic Richfield). Well-known on the lecture circuit for his alarmist interpretation of the Cuban presence in Africa, Legum argued that the Rhodesia/South Africa “embarrassment” had to be liquidated as quickly as possible. Delay would only serve to strengthen the more extreme nationalist elements in these countries and elsewhere and encourage further Cuban/Soviet meddling. In any case, the Smith government couldn’t last more than another three months, Legum concluded.

Before breaking for lunch in the hotel’s rooftop restaurant, the assembled executives got down to the more serious business of assessing “key markets” in black Africa. Those were, the participants agreed: Angola, the Ivory Coast, Kenya, Nigeria, Zaire and Zambia. (Inclusion of Angola on the list may seem odd, given the complexion of that country’s government and the presence on its soil of the dread Cuban troops. However, as at least two “Roundtable” participants could have demonstrated, multinational enterprise is by no means ready to give up on Angola. Gulf’s representative could have related how his firm has been able to work out an amicable arrangement for continued exploitation of the Cabinda oilfields. The Nestle representative might have told of the huge profits the Swiss-based company made from peddling Angolan coffee—profits it hopes to increase in the future.)

Continued on page 10.



## GREAT BRITAIN

## British workers refuse social contract

By Mervyn Jones

**L**ONDON—Wage restraint in Britain is at an end, just two years after it was accepted by the trade unions in an atmosphere of crisis and against the background of a rapidly falling pound. The portents have been clear for months, and the last doubts were removed by votes at major trade union conferences in July.

- The mineworkers voted to seek a wage of 135 pounds (\$230) a week—almost double the present rate—from November 1. The significance of this demand does not lie in the figure, which is a bargaining claim; the negotiations will certainly end in a compromise, if only because the government (through the National Coal Board) controls the money supply. The vital point is that a 12 month interval between wage rises was a cornerstone of the restraint system, so the miners were not supposed to get any increase until March 1, 1978. They are in no mood to wait, and the Board will be obliged to enter early negotiations.

- Britain's largest union—the Transport and General, with members in auto, many manufacturing industries, trucking, the docks and city transportation—voted for “an immediate return to free collective bargaining.” The key word is “immediate.” Once again, here is a repudiation of the 12 month rule. The resolution was carried despite a plea from the popular and trusted general secretary, Jack Jones. No one can recall a defeat for the TGWU leadership on a major issue since the union was formed in 1920.

- The railwaymen voted to put in for a 60 percent wage increase. They won't get that much (like the mines, the railways are nationalized); but they won't accept the derisory increases of the past two years.

The government had been trying to cajole the Trades Union Congress into signing some kind of agreement. A vague

## British unions are headed on a collision course with the Labor government, and the government may be headed for oblivion.

formula, preserving the principle of restraint, seemed to be better than nothing; it was clear that there was no chance this time of a rigid norm. But the conference votes made it impossible for TUC leaders to enter into any agreement whatever. From August 1, terminal date of the current deal, free collective bargaining is back and unions are not pledged to observe any ceiling on wage increases.

### Uncontrollable inflation.

The prime cause of the hardened union attitude was the government's failure to control inflation, even when the “wage-push” factor was absent. Inflation has accelerated all 1977, and July figures show the annual rate at 17.7 percent. Price control is wholly ineffective, and it's known that we shall shortly be paying more for bread, cheese and instant coffee, among other items. Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey promised this week that, if wage rises are limited, inflation will be down to a 10 percent rate before next summer. But his credibility has been wrecked by a series of similar promises, and he's now in the position of the man who predicts rain day after day until he has to be right.

Healey rose in the House of Commons on July 15 to make a statement which, in place of an agreement, represented the government's unilateral reaction to the changed situation. He expressed the hope that wage rises would not exceed 10 percent, and warned that inflation will speed

up if they do. In his April budget he had offered an income-tax cut, conditional on a wage-restraint agreement; he is putting half the cut into effect as a gesture of goodwill. His statement also made modest increases in child allowances and other welfare benefits.

What will actually happen on the wages front? Agreements will certainly be more flexible and will allow extra benefits to skilled workers, who had suffered from the rigidity of the system imposed since 1975. More generally, the unions are unlikely to score any sensational victories because their bargaining position is weakened by the continuing recession and by heavy unemployment. Statements by employers and comments in the Tory press are philosophical, pointing out that there's a big gulf between unfettered demands by unions and concessions by the boss.

Nevertheless, wage increases of 20 percent are likely and higher figures aren't out of the question. Workers have good prospects of reversing the decline in living standards that they endured over the past year. The first battle will be at the Ford auto plants; the unions there are consistently militant and not afraid to strike, and they know that company profits are substantial. Other auto firms, notably the government-supported British Leyland, will shortly come into the firing line. The big crunch will be the settlement with the miners—or the miners' strike, if that's how things go.

### Fall prospects.

Politically, the government's resigned acceptance of the inevitable will put further strain on its pact with the Liberals. The Liberal party favors a wage-restraint system having the force of law, and its spokesmen have said several times that the pact will last only as long as the government effectively holds down wages.

The Tories will press for an autumn election, but perhaps with some inner doubts. “Vote for us and lose your wage increase” isn't the best campaign slogan. Many clerical workers and other middle-class groups, on whose votes the Tories rely, are in the line for wage increases.

Despite the splintering of the key plank in the government's platform, panic is not in the air. Though inflation is unchecked and unemployment heavy, there's a return of confidence in the British economy. The swift development of North Sea oil (now meeting a third of British needs) has caused a mood of optimism. Foreign investment is holding steady and the pound is strong on the exchanges. A collapse of pay restraint in 1976 would have sent the pound into a tailspin; now, there's talk of a gradual rise relative to the dollar and main European currencies. Unless all the economists are wrong, 1978 will see Britain through to a balance of payments surplus.

However, no predictions are safe. A single piece of bad luck could lead to the government being “blown off course,” as Harold Wilson used to say in similar circumstances. No problems have been solved—neither the basic economic problems, nor Northern Ireland, nor Scottish nationalism, nor Rhodesia. As usual, the government is content if it can look three months ahead.

Mervyn Jones writes for *The New Statesman*.

## Africa

Continued from page 9

Strategy session began after lunch. A “Watchlist” distributed to the participants revealed a rudimentary business strategy to protect and foster the spread of “free market” economies in Africa south of the Sahara. It bears a resemblance to the “enclave strategy” used against guerillas in a variety of recent neo-colonial struggles.

Key countries appear to have been selected to serve as regional market economy “enclaves.” In West Africa, the burden falls upon Nigeria and the Ivory Coast (“the most troublefree and attractive investment site for foreign companies in West Africa”). In East Africa, Kenya fills the bill, despite fears of a leftward swing once aging Jomo Kenyatta leaves the scene. Zaire and Zambia, though faltering, get the nod in south-central Africa.

### Securing the countryside.

The “Watchlist” hints at what may be another aspect of the transnational strategy to “save” black Africa from collectivism. A fair number of the firms represented at the “Roundtable” session—among them CPC International, Fiat, Massey-Ferguson and Nestle—are heavily involved in the agricultural field, not only in countries with fairly well-developed cash crop economies (Ghana, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Mauritius) but in the poorer, subsistence farming nations as well (for instance, Malawi, whose president, Dr. Hastings Banda, was described as a “benevolent despot” in the course of the proceedings).

To be sure, there is nothing particularly sinister, on the face of it, in multinationals getting excited about agribusiness undertakings in the developing world. For

years now, U.S.-based companies have been cleaning up in Latin American agriculture. However, in Africa, where an even larger percentage of the population lives off the land and where agricultural output bulks even larger in the average gross domestic product, transnational investment takes on a somewhat different cast.

Control of the plantation sector has long been the basis of neo-colonial power in Africa. Unilever's United Africa Company has run Ghana for decades by virtue of its monopoly over the cacao trade; Firestone's domination of Liberia through its rubber plantation holdings is too well-known to require further explanation.

However, pouring money into African agriculture may achieve more than simple profit-making or control of certain key African economies. It may also help to secure the African countryside against revolutionary nationalist guerillas, who, as in Namibia and Zimbabwe, have had their greatest successes in rural areas.

### Last resort.

It can be anticipated that no effort will be spared to shore up the regional market economy “enclaves” listed above. The recent scramble of international finance to prop up the Mobutu tent show in Zaire seems to prove this. Further, the smaller Black African states will no doubt be encouraged to move into the orbit of the regional economic sub-powers or, at least, to adopt similar development plans. Countries that prove truculent (for instance Benin, the Congo Republic, Ethiopia, Guinea, Mozambique) could find themselves isolated, cut off from international capital flows and foreign markets for their goods.

The “Watchlist” gives evidence of what is likely to happen to a country that refuses to play the “free enterprise” game. In reviewing the economic situation of Mozambique, the document notes that “when South Africa revalues its gold reserves in August Mozambique could suffer. Currently 80 percent of the foreign

exchange comes from the resale of gold bullion.... 75 to 90 percent of the remaining Portuguese technocrats (doctors, engineers and technicians) may not renew their contracts, due to expire about now... Since independence... the country (has turned) from a commodity exporter into an importer.”

Should this sort of pressure prove insufficient to convince a nationalist regime to see the error of its ways, even more rigorous “de-stabilization” measures might then be applied: company refusal to supply spare parts, sabotage of public services, manipulation of the media to mobilize dissidents. And, always in reserve, the *coup de grace*—either the old ploy of subsidizing an army putsch or the use of mercenaries to overthrow the government.

A.B. Scripto is a European journalist.

## Portugal

Continued from page 3.

“Soviet-style collectivization” imposed by the PCP on Alentejo. Despite the pro-Soviet rigidity of Alvaro Cunhal's party, these attacks are historic distortions, for whereas farm collectivization in the Soviet Union was forcibly imposed on the peasantry by a city-based bureaucracy, in Alentejo it was the peasants themselves who moved to take over the land.

### Left wing attacked.

The Soares line has been to portray the return of land to those who do not work it as the only alternative to Soviet-style collectives run bureaucratically by the PCP. But there was a third course open, more in keeping with the original democratizing objectives of the Portuguese revolution, which consisted in strengthening genuine worker control over the UCPs. This was the course championed by Lopes Cardoso, who was forced to resign as Agri-

culture Minister last November 3 when the Socialist party rejected his policy.

Since then, Soares has stepped up the attack on the left wing of his own party. Shortly before the vote on the Barreto bill, he said that “ex-comrade” Lopes Cardoso, by opposing the new agrarian measures, had “excluded himself” from the party. Soares called the Workers Brotherhood group formed by Lopes Cardoso and other left-wing Socialists a “divisionist” organization made up of “puppets in service of the Communist party.”

While lopping off the left wing of his own party, Soares has moved closer to the conservative Social Democratic party led by Francisco Sa Carneiro, which joined the Socialists in passing the Barreto bill against the votes of the left and the right-wing Social and Democratic Center (CDS). Since the minority Socialist government can no longer count on support from the left, Soares needs to conclude an alliance with the Social Democrats that could eventually produce a “centrist” coalition government. This would be the solution most pleasing to Soares's West German backers and most likely to pave the way for Portugal's entry into the European Community—a strong inducement apt to overcome Sa Carneiro's natural inclinations to ally with the CDS.

Actually taking land back from Alentejo peasants who have occupied it could be messy. The PCP can hardly disavow the peasants who for 30 years have provided the party with its strongest base. If enforcing the Barreto law leads to violent clashes between peasants and security forces, it should not be hard for the government to implicate the Communists and accuse the PCP of instigating rebellion. The Barreto law thus presents the Portuguese Communist party with the danger of further isolation and even eventual repression.

As for Alentejo peasants, they can look forward to swelling the already overflowing ranks of the unemployed.

Diana Johnstone is a Paris journalist who publishes *The Owl*.



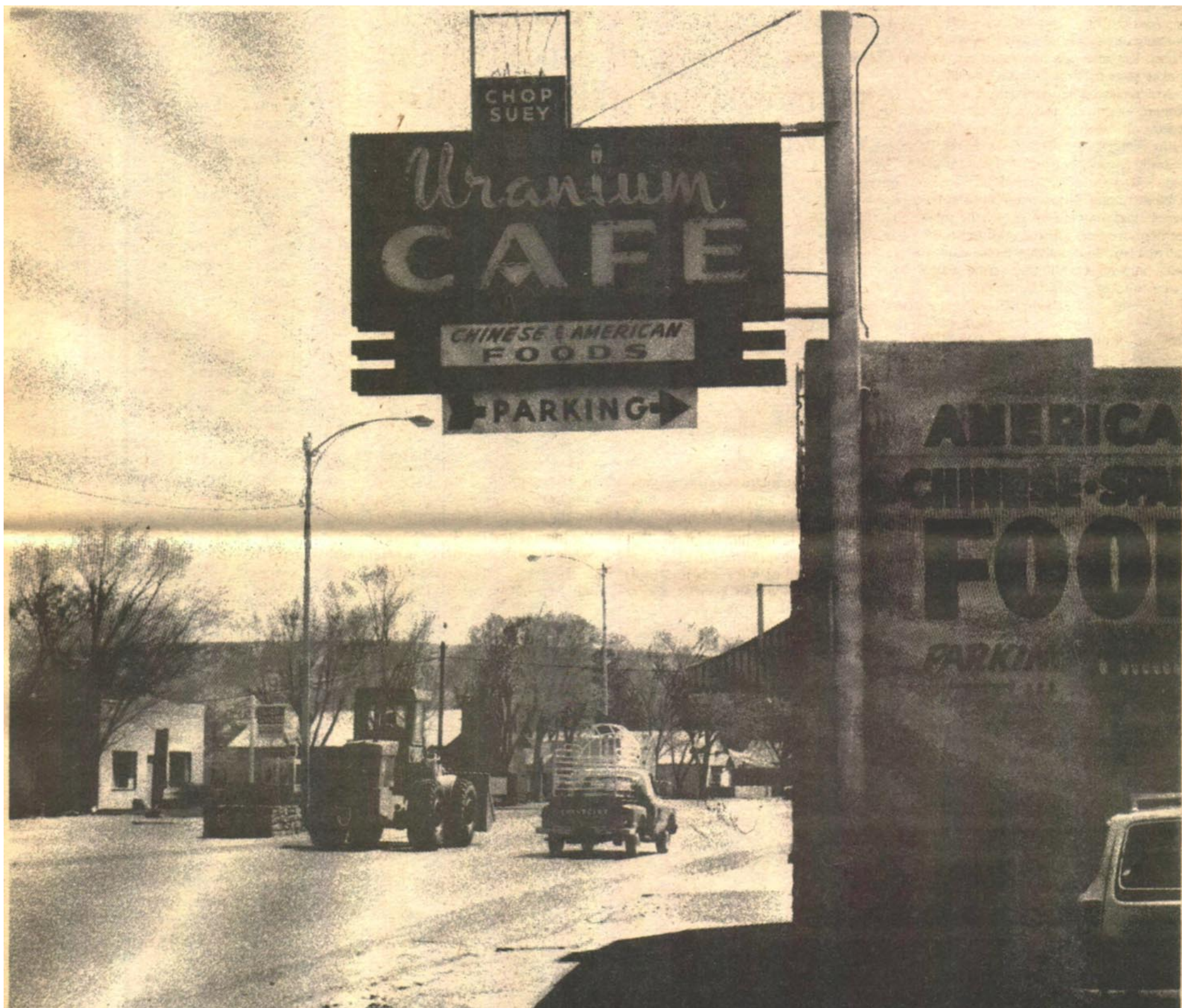






# URANIUM!

★ ★ IN NEW MEXICO ★ ★



Dede Feldman

## The Saga of a Modern Boom Town by Dede Feldman

**T**HE STREET SIGNS IN GRANTS, New Mexico, proudly bear the insignia of atomic energy and are marked with the words "Uranium Capitol of the World." On an average day the streets of the small town are clogged with the pick-ups, campers and U-Hauls of migrant miners now peopling dusty mesas and dry lands once dominated by Indians and later farmed by Spanish settlers.

Beckoning the thousands who have come to the Grants area in the past sev-

eral years is a new type of yellow gold—uranium.

It is the lure of uranium's high wages that prompt the new immigrants to send their children to overcrowded schools, breathe air that is threatened by radon gas, drink water that may be spoiled by radioactive run-off from nearby mills and live in the aluminum ghettos that make up the West's newest kind of boomtown.

Fifty percent of the nation's uranium lies in an area of northwestern New Mexico called the Grants Uranium Belt. In 1977-78 it is estimated that 17.9 million pounds of ore will be taken out of the ground by

extractive companies like Anaconda, United Nuclear, Gulf, Kerr-McGee and others. The value of that uranium is estimated to be \$360 million.

But while the northwest section of New Mexico is resource-rich—containing coal and oil as well as uranium—the area's inhabitants are poor. New Mexico is ranked 46th in per capita income in the nation, and in the northwest area of the state 39 percent of the population live below the poverty level, with 50 percent earning less than \$7,000 a year.

Many are Indians—Acomas, Lagunas, and Navajos—who revere the mountains

from which the ore is being taken. Others are Chicanos who have struggled to farm the arid land for generations.

The Grants area is close to the Navajo Reservation. The town itself has long served as a shopping and trade center for the Navajos, as well as for the pueblos to the south and east.

Until the 1950s Grants was a tiny agricultural community. Known as "the carrot capitol," in 1925 Grants had only 300 residents, most of whom were farmers or lumberjacks.

In 1950 a Navajo by the name of Paddy Martinez changed all that when he discov-



ered uranium on Haysstack mesa, ten miles west of Grants. A year later the Anaconda Company made a rich discovery of ore at the Jacopie mine near Laguna. A few years later huge deposits were located at Ambrosia lake, and by 1960 five uranium processing mills were in operation.

The boom, in short, was on.

As a result of the 50s arms race the demand for uranium soared, and so did Grants' population, rising from 1500 in 1946 to 10,274 in 1960.

But the other side of boom is bust and in the 1960s, with a declining federal interest in uranium purchases and with no other industries, Grants' population declined to 8,768, hovering there for nearly a decade.

And then came the energy crisis. In no time at all Grants' population shot back up—this year reaching 13,000 inhabitants.

"Last summer we were getting 150 names a month," says Dolly Crosby of the Grants Newcomer Service, an organization set up to ease the shock of transition for miners and their families coming from all over the country. "But often, by the time we got around to visiting them, they had gone."

"We just don't have enough housing or services, and many of the people who come here are unemployed and desperate already. They don't have enough money to wait, and meanwhile there's the problem of alcohol and crime."

**P**REDICTIONS FOR THE FUTURE of Grants and northwest New Mexico depend on the national energy picture. But according to the New Mexico Energy Resources Board, uranium ore production in the area will increase fivefold by 1985. That will mean 9,569 new jobs for uranium miners, say Resources Board officials.

Since 56 percent of all uranium miners now live in Grants, that will mean trouble for the already impacted city.

But that's not all.

According to the Resources Board (once headed by John O'Leary, the nation's new top energy administrator) this increase, along with the increase in other energy related jobs in Northwest New Mexico will mean a total energy employment jump of 19,000 by 1985. And because uranium miners bring their families, they predict that population in the area will increase by 229,370 by 1985.

Such a rapid rise in population can mean disaster for a small town not equipped to handle more than a few thousand residents.

The first question in dealing with such a rapid influx of population is where to put all the people.

The housing situation in Grants is impossible. Newcomers stay in motels or in the backs of converted pickup trucks. Local realtors say there have been no apartments for rent in Grants for over a year now.

New housing, delayed by a gas moratorium that was in effect until last year, is going up fast, but average monthly payments (even for an old home) are in the \$250-\$300 range.

Down payments are usually 25 percent. A new home sometimes costs 60 percent more than an equivalent one in Albuquerque, 70 miles to the east.

Local financial institutions, wary of the boom/bust cycle, usually finance a home for less than 20 years, charging interest rates of 9-10 percent.

For these reasons, newcomers and their families rely on the hallmark of the new energy boom—the mobile home. A whopping 30 percent of the present homes in Grants are mobile homes and the New Mexico State Planning Office estimates that as many as eight out of ten new homes will be trailers.

Mobile home development is often poorly planned, especially since space is at a premium. Rental for a small trailer plot in Grants runs about \$65 a month, excluding parking rental.

New mobile homes and other housing developments have overtaxed the city's sewage system. Because the sewer plant is overloaded new subdivisions have been held up, thus increasing the cost of housing that now exists. Meanwhile, sewage periodically overflows into the streets.

Area roads are overused, and the traffic, especially when the work shifts change, is terrible. In neighboring Milan, only 30 percent of the streets are paved.

Health care in the Grants/Milan area is inadequate, at best. There are only five or six doctors and three dentists for Grants' 15,000 residents. The city's hospital, built some years ago by Anaconda, contains only 45 beds. Most people in need of medical care—even those who are the victims of serious mining accidents—must take the long ride to Albuquerque.

While local health care facilities are short, medical needs in the area are high. Alcohol abuse in the northwest area of New Mexico is five times the national average, the accident rate is four times the national average and infant mortality is twice the national percentage.

In addition, the number of violent crimes reported in Valencia County (where Grants is located) increased 40 percent from 1974 to '75 and 204 percent from 1971 to '75. The number of property crimes reported during 1974-75 increased 81 percent.

Grants police are woefully understaffed to deal with these problems. At most times there are only two officers on duty.

The schools in Grants are overcrowded, children are often bused long distances and taught in temporary structures.

"As with any transient population, there are severe educational problems," says Dale Hagin, a Junior High School teacher in Grants.

"The kids really need a program of the same scope as for migrant farm workers. Title I just doesn't cover it," Hagin himself was so discouraged by the magnitude of the problems facing him in Grants that he, like many others, moved on.

While the load of a teacher in Grants may be heavy, the life of a social worker can be a nightmare. Because of the heavy incidence of crime, alcoholism, child abuse, wife beating and other boomtown problems, the average working life of a social worker in the city is less than a year.

Mike Beauregard is one social worker who stayed.

In between child custody cases and calls from runaways, Beauregard says, "The biggest problem here is alienation—for women especially. Most of the women are

new, they don't know anyone; they have the sole responsibility of raising the kids since their husbands work double time or on all kinds of weird shifts."

For women this alienation often results in drinking, child abuse or neglect. For the miners, who compete fiercely for the high paying jobs available, it often results in wife beating and violent behavior.

"Depression and loneliness are big problems," says Pearla Pike, one of Beauregard's colleagues. "We've had lots of suicide calls and I spend a lot of my time just keeping people company."

**F**OR NEW AND OLD RESIDENTS alike, many of Grants' social problems revolve around the concept of "community." Twenty years ago Grants was referred to as a "mining camp," reflecting the temporary feeling of the miners and the foremen whose loyalties lay with the company, not the town. Today, the terminology is used only by the old guard, but the attitude still shows. "Lots of people who come here don't feel part of the community," Beauregard says. Long time residents, like Anna Pegan, reminisce about Grants in the "old days"—25 years ago. "There used to be only two paved streets with outhouses alongside them," she says. "People don't know each other any more; they don't care. Look at the traffic—people would just as soon run you down in the street."

Contributing to the problem of alienation and abetting the conflict between the old and new residents is the fact that present-day migrants are usually Anglo.

"New residents often bring in totally different values and traditions," says Jim Burkhead of the New Mexico State Planning Office. "The influx of new residents can lead to resentment and estrangement from the original residents around Grants—the Indians and the Spanish-speakers."

While the social impact of uranium mining is severe, the environmental cost might be even higher. In 1975, the Environmental Protection Agency reported radioactive contamination of water supplies near uranium mines and mills around Grants. In 1976 the same agency reported excessive radon gas in the air around Ambrosia lake from mining and milling ventilation shafts.

Environmentalists are also concerned with the dust from the huge uranium tailings piled high around local uranium mills.

Most Grants residents, however,

dismiss the dangers of the uranium trade as easily as they adapt to the confined quarters of a mobile home. "People here are not concerned with the environmental dangers of uranium," says Brook Levin, city planner. "Uranium could eat them up. All they're concerned with is making a buck while it lasts."

Just how long the uranium boom in Grants will last is open to dispute. While the Grants Chamber of Commerce tells tourists and people thinking of setting up shop there that "uranium production promises a bright and stable future for the area for many years to come," others are not so sure.

The New Mexico Planning Office estimates that local uranium reserves will be exhausted by the year 2,000. This makes planning and financing the social services needed in the short run even more difficult.

Nearby, throughout the New Mexico hills, deserted ghost-towns of other, by-gone booms silently testify to the precarious position that possession of valuable resources imposes on a community.

Grant's vulnerability to booms, busts and outside exploitation of wealth is not so different from the position that many Third World countries find themselves in. In New Mexico the similarity is striking. Many of the corporations in the Grants uranium belt—Anaconda, Kerr-McGee, and Gulf—are familiar names in developing countries.

The future of the area's native workers also bears some resemblance to the Third World experience. Recent surveys have predicted that the area's natives may account for only 10 percent of the region's employment after 1981. According to the Resources Board, the other 90 percent will be taken by recent, more skilled immigrants.

To prevent rapid resource exploitation and to stop the poor from absorbing the cost of boomtowns and other environmental dangers of energy development, many Western states have forced mineral companies to pay high severance taxes on resources taken out of the state. Montana, for example, has a 30 percent severance tax on its most valuable mineral resource, steam coal. Out of these tax monies comes funding for schools, housing and community development.

But New Mexico is not Montana. After a long and hard-fought battle in the state legislature, the best local lawmakers could do was to impose a 4.5 percent severance tax on uranium. The tax, however, included a sliding scale that makes the real rate more like 1.25 percent.

The revenues from such a tax will do little more than scratch the surface of the \$242 million that the Energy Resources Board says is necessary for the social services that are now needed in northwestern New Mexico.

Circumstances surrounding the legislature's failure to act on higher corporate taxes are familiar. The public at large wanted higher severance taxes: an Albuquerque newspaper poll showed 82.8 percent to be in favor of a tax level of more than 10 percent. Many called for a 25 percent tax rate.

But nuclear/uranium lobbyists thought otherwise. Flocking to Santa Fe in record numbers, they were able to persuade lawmakers (many of whom are industry-connected) that a high tax would force the industries to leave the state for good.

There were none who cried louder about the need to prevent high severance taxes than Grants' legislators and other inhabitants of the state's newest mining camp. Not so ironically, it is these same folks who will be paying for the services that the companies do not provide.

In a recent swing through New Mexico Stewart Udall, former U.S. Secretary of the Interior, said what local workers and environmentalists have known all along: "New Mexico is an energy colony and I think you're chumps. New Mexico has the right to preserve its resources. If you don't have controls, the poor get clobbered."

*Dede Feldman writes for Seers Rio Grande Weekly in Albuquerque, N.M.*

## A HIPPIE GHOST TOWN

Boomtowns are nothing new in New Mexico. In the past hundred years the immense mineral wealth buried in the hills and mountains here has lured thousands to the "land of enchantment." Settling in small mining camps and remote villages, coal, silver and gold miners established thriving centers of commerce and trade bearing now-unfamiliar names like Bonanza City, Elizabethtown, Navajo, Bland and Chance City.

Unlike today's boomtowns, most of these towns were company owned. When the resources ran dry, the companies pulled out, leaving behind the deserted mines, company stores and hastily built houses. Today the remnants of hundreds of these towns dot the New Mexico landscape.

Just how long it will take today's uranium boomtowns to join the ranks of these ghost towns is a question most people around here don't like to think about. But one small town in the mountains between Santa Fe and Albuquerque may serve as a forewarning of things to come.

In the 1920s and '30s Madrid, New Mexico, was a thriving coal town. Lo-

cated 24 miles southwest of Santa Fe, the town was perched high atop rich deposits of both anthracite and bituminous coal. In the U.S., such a coal-combination made Madrid unique.

In its heyday the town boasted of top-flight night baseball games and a fabulous Christmas light display that transcontinental planes would go out of their way to fly over.

A company town owned by the Albuquerque and Cerrillos Coal Company, Madrid fell into decline after World War II, when the coal customers began switching to other fuels. And so the company pulled out.

In 1954 the entire town was put up for sale. The price: \$250,000. There were no takers.

It had taken Madrid less than half a century to go through an entire boom/bust cycle.

Today, amid mountains black with still untapped coal, Madrid is inhabited by a lively colony of hippies and craftspeople who are trying to make the town into a tourist attraction.

Someday, maybe, there will be another boom in Madrid.



# IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

## The Bad Steed: S-1 rides again

The state is the guardian, protector, and enforcer of the existing society and its system of class relations. It sustains the property system (including the system of labor exploitation) and the power of the ruling class—in the U.S., the corporate-capitalists. The law embodies the rules and regulations under which the state normally protects and enforces the social order by legislative, administrative, police, and judicial agencies, within a constitutional framework of consent and coercion.

The law embraces powers continuously exercised, those occasionally used, and others held in reserve for special circumstances such as wars, insurrections, mass disobedience, or threatened revolution.

Since the rise of the large corporation, about 75 years ago, as the dominant form of capitalist power in the U.S., the old bourgeois democratic republic has given way to the imperial corporate-state. The corporate-state has remolded the American constitution largely by usage, judicial construction, and administrative practice. In this remolding, the needs of the ruling class have often run "ahead" of the law, resulting in executive directives in place of legislation as well as in extra-legal or lawless government actions, some later retracted, others sanctioned *post facto*.

A profound change in the *de facto* constitution of the U.S. has been effected in the last 75 years, during which the state has been reshaped to meet the needs of a centralized regime of political and economic authority.

### The corporate state.

The Constitution originally dispersed power among state and federal governments. It provided for balance between the executive and legislative branches in domestic and foreign policy, including the war-making power; severe restrictions on federal government interference with citizen rights and liberties; a more or less passive government relation to the marketplace.

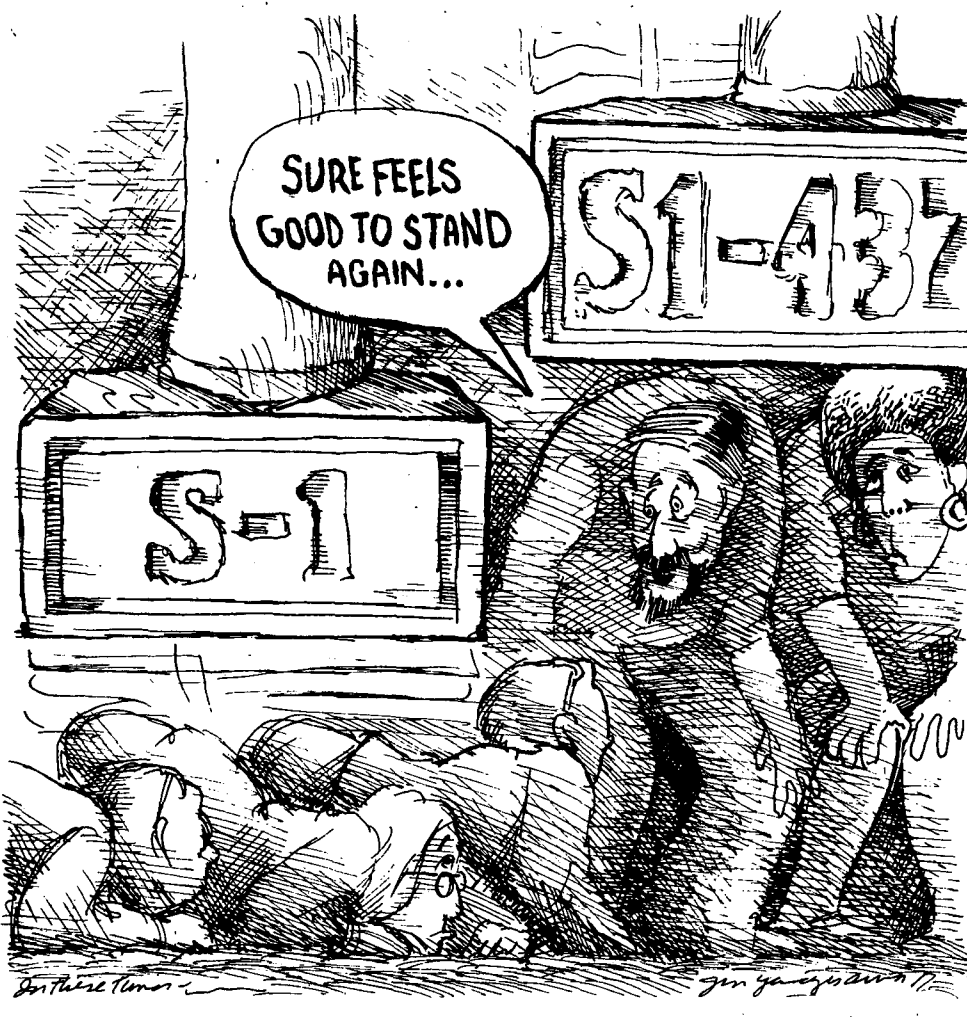
Under the new constitutional regime, effective power is more and more concentrated in the national government, exercised in intimate consultation with the "fourth branch"—the "governments" called corporations. Federalism is now a hollow shell. The executive branch dominates the legislative and judicial and acts extra-legally or illegally at home and abroad. Civil rights and liberties are subordinated to the "security" claims of the state. The national government, especially the executive branch, integrates its power with that of the large corporations and banks to regulate the economy in domestic and international spheres.

But a state too blatantly and too long unanchored in the law stands in danger of a Caesarism irresponsible to class needs, or of instability from unruly internecine conflict and, ultimately, of losing its legitimacy in the eyes of the people.

That danger arose in the mid- to late '60s, and remains a problem in the '70s. It is referred to by politicians and corporate executives as the need to restore confidence in government and "our" institutions.

In 1966 President Johnson appointed the National Commission on Reforms of Federal Criminal Laws, headed by then California Governor Edmund G. Brown, to make recommendations for conforming the law in a uniform manner to the needs of the corporate-state.

Within a larger corporate consensus, liberals and conservatives on and off the Commission have differed on the precise terms of the legality, but in effect the codification initiative is an effort to give *de jure* embodiment to the *de facto* corporate-state constitution.



The First Amendment: Congress shall make no law...abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble...

### Nixon and S-1.

Following the Commission's establishment, the federal Executive continued to appropriate enormous new powers and to extend older ones. And it went haywire when Nixon tended to confuse executive power with his personal political power and that of his allied political and business factions. The first result of the codification effort was the Nixon administration's infamous S-1. On the heels of Watergate, the Vietnam war, and the revelations of illegal FBI, CIA, IRS and other executive branch activities, S-1 died in the Senate Judiciary Committee.

S-1 was intended to legalize many illegal Executive activities and further to erode the substance and scope of civil liberties and rights. Aroused public opinion after Watergate and a Congress stirred at least to some defense of its prerogatives against the executive branch and worried about public sentiment killed S-1.

### Son of S-1.

But with public opinion now in a lull, S-1437, a Democratic measure strongly supported by the Carter administration, is before Congress, jointly sponsored by conservative Sen. John L. McClellan (D-AR) and liberal Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA). It does less directly, in more piecemeal manner, and under respectable auspices, what S-1 would have done more grossly and blatantly.

The Kennedy/McClellan bill is close to passage. The target is early September, a Labor Day present to the country's first tricentennial year. Instead of being held up for minute scrutiny in committee as was S-1, it is being steam-rolled through Congress with scarcely any scrutiny.

In the debate now proceeding among progressives as to the proper attitude toward the Kennedy/McClellan bill, some advise that we accept it as the best we can expect, while others argue that we fight it and seek its defeat and replacement by the Kastenmeier/Cohen bill (HR-2311). (See the Melvin L. Wulf/Thomas I. Emerson "Dialog," *ITT*, July 20.)

We agree with Thomas I. Emerson, the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation (NCARL) and others who have joined in the fight against "the son of S-1."

The pending administration bill codifies old and creates new law destructive of free speech and a free press, of free association, public assembly and demonstration, and of trade union rights to strike and picket. It expands the conspiracy law to include catch-all felonies of "abetting," and "soliciting," which means counseling, advising, or advocating. It expands the authority of the executive, of congressional committees, the military, the police, and of judges to intimidate and curtail free speech and assembly in protest against government actions.

The codification creates an official secrets act through a series of smaller felonies rather than through S-1's outright prohibition of publishing classified materials. The bill makes it a crime for current or former government employees to leak to the press government information documenting illegal actions of public officials or contractors (corporations). It deprives journalists of First Amendment rights to maintain the confidentiality of sources. It makes it a crime to publish a news story or editorial that attacks a government official and causes that official "professional" injury or financial damage such as job

termination, suspension or reassignment. The bill makes it a felony to publish any "stolen" government report or document where financial gain is derived therefrom, and to publish anything in violation of a court-ordered gag even if the order is illegal.

### Curbs on unions.

Trade unionists may be charged with felonies under the extortion and blackmail provisions, which prohibit actions that might subject a capitalist to property damage, economic loss, or injury to business or profession. They may also be prosecuted for strikes against companies producing defense-related products or materials, under the provisions on sabotage, obstruction of government functions, and resisting a court injunction. Past exemptions from these provisions for bona fide trade union action are deleted from the pending code.

The bill adds the new crime of making a false oral statement to an FBI or other police or investigative officer. It gives any federal officer authority to disperse or stop an assembly, parade, picketing, leafleting, or canvassing, by making it a crime to disobey such an order when issued in response to fire, flood, riot (defined as a disturbance involving ten or more persons), or other condition creating a risk of serious injury to person or property.

It makes it a crime, in time of war, including undeclared war, to obstruct military recruitment or induction, or to incite or counsel others to avoid military service, including by picketing an induction center.

It makes it a crime to damage or tamper with any property or facility if it obstructs the ability of the U.S. or an allied nation to prepare for or engage in war or defense activities.

### Draconian powers.

The combination of provisions against obstruction or impairing government functions with those on conspiracy gives the state draconian powers to suppress political opposition.

The Kennedy/McClellan bill makes some improvements over past law such as repealing the Smith and Logan acts, which gives it some liberal appeal. But taken in conjunction with the administration's Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (S-1566), which for the first time legalizes warrantless wiretaps for informational purposes not crime related, the old and new piecemeal felonies established by the codification bill more than replace those older oppressive laws with more comprehensive powers.

With the new codification the corporate-state would establish a new constitutional regime subordinating the democratic rights of society and of citizens to the leviathan state. It would further solidify the power of the corporate ruling class against political opposition, and enormously strengthen it against working class resistance in the sharpened conflicts to come as the economy continues to stagnate, and workers seek to organize to defend their rights.

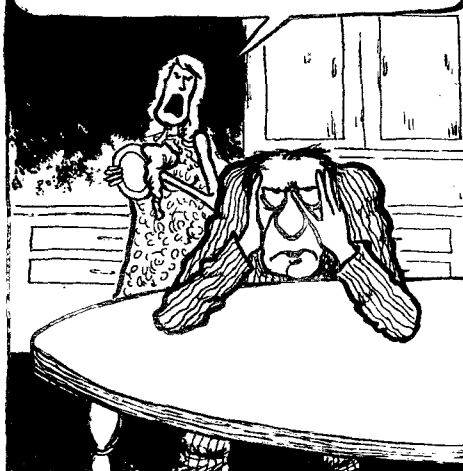
Space does not permit enumerating all the aspects of the administration's bill obnoxious to our rights and liberties. We have mentioned only a few. We urge our readers to:

- Write to NCARL (1250 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 501, Los Angeles, CA 90017) for fuller information about S-1437 and plans to combat it.

- Write to your Senators and Representatives urging them to vote against S-1437 and S-1566, and in the meantime to insist on more thorough hearings—and to support the Kastenmeier/Cohen bill (HR-2311) instead of S-1437, and the Badillo bill (HR-6051) instead of S-1566.



SO YOU LOST YOUR JOB! SO YOU'VE GOT NOTHING TO DO! SO STOP PESTERING ME AND GO PLAY BALL WITH YOUR SON OR SOMETHING!



**NEWS ITEM: AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION ATTRIBUTES NATIONAL INCREASE IN CHILD ABUSE TO UNEMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TENSIONS.**



## Letters

### An antidote

Editor:

My congratulations for the series by Louise Menashe. Such articles are sorely needed. I am a DSOC member and the articles gave me an important insight lacking in the virulent anti-Communism of Irving Howe, et al.

—Bob Munson  
San Francisco

### The American left and Soviet socialism

Editor:

I was very impressed with Louis Menashe's discussion of the Soviet Union (ITT, July 13). His remarks were particularly appropriate for the American left today.

In these times of unemployment, recession and ecological destruction, socialism is necessarily being "put on the agenda" of more and more Americans as an alternative to the growing problems of capitalist society. Too often, however, people are frightened off by the looming, totalitarian presence of the Soviet Union. Increasingly, socialists are asked: "What about Russia?"

It has become fashionable lately blithely to dispose of the issue by saying, "Oh, Russia doesn't have anything to do with socialism." Though this attitude does demonstrate the American left's concern with conditions in the Soviet Union, and is an improvement over earlier pro-Soviet dogmatism, it is nonetheless fraught with its own contradictions.

Socialism cannot be mechanically applied or compared to specific nations. Nor is it a strict dogma, or a blueprint for a new society based on abstract conceptions. Those who claim the opposite are, ironically, using the same logic that Stalin used in laying down the "correct line."

A socialist society evolves out of the thought and action of the people who are working toward it. Their specific circumstances condition the development of socialism in each country, and the extent to which things must be changed in order to build a freer and more democratic society.

Appealing to socialism as something rigid and fixed is separating theory and practice in a manner that Marx would have abominated. Professor Menashe has made this point quite eloquently.

—Paul Chilli  
New York City

### Hey, wake up!

Editor:

ITT reports that B-1 opponents hailed Carter's call for a halt in production of the bomber as a "courageous choice," (July 6). Don't they see that the cutting of this program in favor of accelerated

cruise missile deployment is simply a matter of cost efficiency along the road to a stepped-up arms race? The B-1, like the breeder reactor, was the "bad" alternative, put aside for a while in a time of frugality and small-is-beautiful in favor of the "good" alternatives: nice little cruise missiles and garden variety nuclear reactors.

Not since the pre-Vietnam war era have official government propaganda and the semi-official media so consistently fostered weapons obsession. You can hardly turn on the news without seeing pictures of how much Europe will be destroyed when we drop this or that bomb on the Commies, and hearing how much they will deserve it for violating "human rights." Carter now says that the neutron bomb is "tactical," not "strategic," meaning presumably that it is not there primarily as a deterrent, but is intended to be used. Meanwhile, liberal commentators agonize over whether the President is not too open and idealistic to be politically effective, and Coretta King and Jonas Salk accept the Medal of Freedom with paeans to his contributions to the advancement of human liberty. What is going on?

—Stuart A. Newman  
Albany, N.Y.

### Bombed out on B-1

Editor:

Dealing with the B-1 Bomber decision (ITT, July 6) you run a space-wasting big picture of Carter and say "the recent evolution of the cruise missile...., [Carter] said, has made the B-1 Bomber unnecessary." You then say "B-1 opponents hailed his announcement." You leave the impression that all is well.

The British conservative magazine *The Economist*, by contrast, puts its finger squarely on the reality in its July 9 issue: "Astutely, [Carter] saw what most others missed. The cruise missile would pacify the hawks; the liberals would be distracted by the B-1." Pointing out that "it is the dawn of the cruise missile era," *The Economist* is much closer to the essence of Carter's military policy than you are with your one-sided focus on the B-1.

Let's have more hard-hitting, critical, analytical reporting from ITT!

—David Nichols  
Albany, N.Y.

### Independent? Of what?

Editor:

I have welcomed ITT as the independent socialist newspaper. It is refreshing to read a paper from the left after all these years that isn't jargon and illiterate and that appeared informed. However, matters such as energy and Israel, on which members of my family are well informed, have appeared inaccurately in articles so that I have become suspect of the quality and reliability of other articles on which I am not so well informed.

Particularly on Israel I am appalled at the distortions of history, the presentations of misinformation—all consumed by the uninformed reader as fact. Doesn't

anyone check source material for facts anymore?

Unfortunately, the instant generation who didn't study history is now writing history, and unfortunately the so-called left is still fitting the facts to pre-conceived prejudices.

I agree with David Shapiro (Letters, ITT, July 6) about ITT's stand on Israel. Your anti-Israel bias (or is it that old Jewish self-hate?) comes through your strained attempt at "objectivity." ITT staff has not been independent in its thinking on matters pertaining to Israel. Are you afraid of alienating certain readers who still embrace all leftist liturgy without thinking for themselves?

—Marsha F. Ralegh  
San Francisco

### Pleasantly surprised

Editor:

I was pleasantly surprised to discover ITT at my neighborhood left-wing bookstore. It's gratifying to read a newspaper with a political standpoint that runs in the grain of this country's experience.

It was good to see the article on health care by Peers and Muzysinski (ITT, July 6). Too often left-wing journals ignore this important problem. These writers discuss this question with great intelligence.

—Fred Richardson  
Chicago

### Mark Naison's not so bad after all

Editor:

For years it has disturbed me that left publications have ignored sports. Sports in the U.S. is a mass phenomenon. The left stands to benefit from the enormous interest that already exists amongst working people. What's been lacking is a coherent analysis.

Second, professional sports serves as the arena for visible labor/capital struggle. While not the most critical, it may be the most mystified. Any political inroads here would carry over to hundreds of ways in which working-class sports fans see themselves and others.

It is primarily for these reasons that I am so excited to see regular sports features in ITT. I also appreciate the attention you have given amateur and women's sports.

A few complaints, however: Somehow, predicting the outcome of the NBA playoffs does not strike me as *alternative* sports coverage. Articles like that are a dime a dozen.

I was afraid that Mark Naison's kind words for Al McGuire would be followed by a "Salute to Vince Lombardi." This man is so clearly the product of competition run amuck that it's impossible for me to see him as the "oppressor" without also seeing him as the "victim." Still, sociopaths like McGuire have done a lot of damage to a lot of kids.

By the time I saw Naison's article on the Portland championship I had already seen 20 just like it in various newspapers and magazines.

Anyway, there's more to this business than "collectivism" vs. "individualism." (Mike Weber of the *Star-Ledger* went as far as to portray the series as a confrontation between "good" and "evil.") For one thing, collectives are not run by adherents of unquestioned discipline like Jack Ramsay. For Naison, the appeal here may genuinely be that of human cooperation. For others, I suspect that machine-like efficiency has more to do with it.

Nevertheless, Naison's pieces are one of the reasons I look forward to each week's IN THESE TIMES.

—Ron Alden  
Orange, N.J.

### The blue collar death sentence

Editor:

In reviewing my book, *The Cancer Connection: And What We Can Do About It* (ITT, July 20), I expected Rob-

ert Steinbrook to be more impressed than he apparently was by the social and political implications of the occupational cancer crisis.

A survey of selected job categories reveals the class bias associated with the U.S. occupational cancer epidemic: Rubber workers exposed to benzene and other known cancer-causing compounds are dying of cancer of the stomach, cancer of the prostate, and leukemia and other cancers at rates ranging from 50 percent to 300 percent greater than the general population; steelworkers, exposed to coke oven emissions and heavy metal dusts, die of lung cancer at rates as high as seven times normal. Printers, chromate workers, uranium miners, petrochemical workers—and many, many more—are among those on a rapidly lengthening list of employees dying at high rates from cancers linked to known occupational carcinogens. The grim reality is that we are very much in the midst of a national blue-collar cancer epidemic.

In seeking to be philosophical about the question of disease, I'm afraid Steinbrook may be leading himself and others down the garden path. Yes, of course "pain, sickness and ultimately death are integral parts of life." But premature, preventable cancer deaths that occur disproportionately among American workers are needless. No just society would tolerate for a moment this squandering of human life.

—Larry Agran  
Irvine, Calif.

### The cost of health care

Editor:

Compliments on the fine article by John Peers and Arlene Muszynski about the cost of health care (ITT, July 6). One serious omission in their article is the implication that all the profit-taking is done by hospitals. They accurately describe the duplication of services among hospitals and their tendency to view medical luxuries as necessities, but they neglect the role of big business in health—the drug, medical equipment and medical supply companies that reap massive profits from selling their products to hospitals.

The drug industry has been this country's first or second most profitable industry each year since 1950. In 1975, its profits were 10 percent; historically its rate of return on investment has been 15-19 percent. The industry is dominated by a few firms that exercise monopoly powers over prices by encouraging the sale of drugs by brand name rather than by their generic name. To maintain this monopoly power, the large firms spend 35 percent of their annual budgets for advertising and other promotions, all of it aimed at physicians.

Medical equipment and supply firms reap large profits through similar business practices.

Carter's cost "cap" would control the revenues that can be collected by hospitals, many of whom, especially public, inner city hospitals, are already struggling to survive. But it would not affect the prices that hospitals have to pay to profit-making companies for drugs and supplies. The result can only be that hospitals will be forced to curtail services and lay off nonmedical workers in order to make ends meet.

Their article clearly points out the futility of "controlling" costs within the existing capitalist structure of the health care industry. The only solution to the "cost crisis" lies in a radical restructuring of that system, such as is contained in Rep. Ronald Dellums' National Health Service bill, introduced in May.

Kevin McNally  
Cranbury, N.J.

More letters on page 17.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.



Joshua Dressler

# Shooting looters: why not kill drunk drivers, too?

The call to assassinate the unemployed and minorities is being heard again. It is couched in more palatable language—"stop fleeing felons," or, most commonly, "shoot to kill 'looters'." The effect, however is the execution of poor people, without trial, and without logic.

The New York City blackout was the most recent stimulus. Rather than focus on Con Edison's negligence, some New York politicians and national columnists focused on those who stole food, clothing, television sets and other small items, namely the New York poor and chronically unemployed.

Almost regretfully, we are told that the "looters" got off too easily; nobody was shot. Never mind that the police arrested anyone near stores being ransacked, whether one was stealing or just observing. Never mind that the arrested were housed in 110-degree heat without adequate water, food, or sanitary conditions. Never mind that they were not arraigned within the time required by law, and that some families were desperate with fear because they could not track down their missing loved ones. Never mind, also, that at least one person died from jail conditions. Never mind all of this. They got off too easily. Shoot them next time.

And, in Johnstown, Pa., the mayor called for just that during the recent flood.

The call to kill "looters" is a common one. It comes during any period when private property is seriously jeopardized. Sometimes the order is couched in euphemisms; sometimes it's graphically clear, as when Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago ordered his police during unrest to "shoot to kill arsonists, and shoot to maim or cripple looters."

Ordering one's law enforcement agen-

## The American criminal justice system has never enforced the law equally or rationally. Corporations have stolen far more from us than all the looters.

cies to do this is perfectly legal. Traditional legal principle, born in England, permits police to shoot fleeing felons to prevent flight.

### The original logic.

Originally, there was some perverse logic in this, since felonies in England were once all capital crimes. The argument went that punishment was simply meted out early.

This remained the law in this country, even after the death penalty was limited to only a few felonies. Gradually, however, courts and legislatures began to realize that the English rationale no longer pertained; killing a felon in the street for a crime that entailed only a short prison sentence lacked credibility. So the law was narrowed: only those who committed "atrocious" felonies can now be shot.

One such "atrocious" felony is burglary. Originally, burglary consisted of breaking and entering another person's home during the night for the purpose of committing another felony inside. The burglar, therefore, by his or her conduct, violated the dweller's "castle." This was defined as a crime deserving of lethal action by law enforcement (or by the private homeowner, for that matter).

The problem, however, is that just as

the rationale for killing all felons lost its vitality by changes in society, so too, has the reasoning for killing burglars. Burglary has generally been redefined to include any entry into any building at any hour. The home is no longer necessarily involved. In California, for example, one who enters a public grocery store with the intention to shoplift is a burglar even before any shoplifting is attempted. Likewise, those who stole from New York stores were more than "thieves"—they were "burglars," the talisman for legal execution.

There is no logic to such legal principle, much less humanity. If a person grabs a bag containing \$10,000 from someone's front yard, this is theft, and the police may not usually legally shoot to kill. If a person grabs \$5 from someone's home or office, he or she is a burglar and is subject to rapid demise.

The law has thus converted the taker of mere property, if done from a building, into an atrocious criminal. His life is a privilege, no longer a right, one that any law enforcement official can revoke.

### Class justice.

And, of course, this is class justice. A 1968 Rutgers study demonstrated what

common sense tells us—that the person in the sight of a police officer's gun is the person who has no property, the poor person.

Recently, however, in the midst of this barbarism, one note of sanity was heard from a federal court that declared laws that permit police to shoot fleeing felons unconstitutional. The court noted that such laws deny the citizen the constitutional right to the presumption of innocence, the right to trial, and the right to due process of law.

The American criminal justice system has never enforced its laws equally or rationally. Corporations have stolen far more money from us than all the "looters," but their only punishment is the drudgery of watching their stolen millions draw interest. And, as then Attorney General Ramsey Clark noted in 1968, persons under the influence of alcohol killed 25,000 Americans in accidents in 1967 alone, while no looter killed anyone during any of the rebellions of the 1960s. "Why not kill drunk drivers?" Clark asked rhetorically.

Clark went on to say in a 1968 speech: "The use of deadly force is neither necessary, effective, nor tolerable. Anyone who thinks bullets are cheaper than adequate [police training] values life cheaply and misunderstands human nature. A reverence for life is the sure way of reducing violent death."

Maybe. But as long as private property takes precedence over human life, we probably cannot expect to see Clark's ideals ever reached.

Joshua Dressler is associate professor of law at Hamline University Law School in St. Paul, Minn. His column appears regularly.



# "Household technicians" organize to gain equal status as workers

The "maid" is now a "household technician." And always was. As a professional, with more years of experience than the one who hires her (men being rare in this occupation), she usually knows more about her work than her employer, despite the jokes about "maids" propagated in all forms of media.

That fact, and much more, comes out—and is the subject for some laughter—in a remarkable new film made by a remarkable woman, Martha Stuart, who has the (it has to be native) ability to let her subjects tell their own story without any visible help from her, without the artificial interviewer or the interview format. There is just this roomful of wonderful women talking about their lives as household technicians, what they like and don't like about it, and how they intend to make changes.

There is a lot to change. You can't always quit, as one of the women in the show said she did when too much was being asked of her. "I had to let her go," she said of her former employer.

### No joke.

Conditions of work are no joke, though clearly the film shows that having a sense of humor helps in putting up with what can't be changed—or until it can be. It's not that the household technicians don't like the work (some didn't), not that they don't consider it important, and not that they don't take a professional pride in doing a good job as much as other craftsworkers do. But consider these working

conditions:

The median annual income for the million and a half household workers is \$2,732 for year-round, full-time employment. Yet, the household worker is probably the head of a household and she is a decade or more older than her female counterpart in other occupations. Furthermore, she has no job security or protection from on-the-job injuries—that is, neither federal unemployment insurance nor workmen's compensation. She has no sick leave, vacation or holiday compensation benefits, and is ineligible for most state Medicaid programs.

The new film, aided by the Ford Foundation, is part of a campaign by the National Committee on Household Employment to change the concept of household workers "toward making the dignity of our labor a reality, not just a dream," says Anita Bellamy Shelton, NCHE executive director. "Let us move toward the day when our children can take pride in what we are doing. That day will come only when we have done all that needs to be done to elevate this honorable occupation to the position it deserves."

The language and the dream are the same one all workers have expressed. Why were the household workers the last to be included in the 1974 Amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act, and why are they still so far behind? Liberals, radicals, and sympathetic people in general have been eager to help agricultural workers, sharecroppers and lettuce workers, welfare mothers and woodcutters. But

household workers have had to organize themselves. They did that beginning in 1965. They now have 44 local units of Household Technicians in 25 states.

### NCHE priorities.

They mean to make real changes. Here are some of their priorities:

"Redefinition of Household Work. NCHE will launch a multiphase educational and consciousness-raising program involving feminists, church women, and trade unionists to improve the image and treatment of household workers, and increase the value placed on household work.

"Develop Model Cleaning and Service Agencies...owned and operated by household workers, which will recruit, train and supply personnel to employers, and develop new ways to meet the needs of working women outside the home."

NCHE also plans to seek funds for a concentrated drive in the South, where 54 percent of all household workers live and where their wages and benefits are the lowest. Their program carries the slogan, "NCHE Organizing the Unorganized." With 1.5 million to organize, there is a lot of it to be done.

They need help. The film is one of their ways to reach the general public with their message. It is up to those who care to see that the film is shown on your public broadcasting station, to church groups, at local union meetings, to women's organizations of all kinds and to political and civic groups. The film can be rented (or bought) from Martha Stuart Communica-

tions, Inc. (66 Bank Street, New York, NY 10014) for \$50 for the 16mm film or \$35 for the videocassette (\$325 and \$250, sale prices). It's 28½ minutes and in color.

### Enforcing the law.

Another facet of the campaign is to obtain compliance with the law. They have a sticker for those who do: "This is a fair labor standards household." The NCHE goal is to have 10,000 homes across the country displaying this sticker in their windows or on their doors. A great deal of educational work must be done so that people know what the law requires in order to be able to conform to it. If you employ a household technician you should be sure you are observing the law. Your next job is to help spread the information to others. A packet of information, the NCHE's brochure on what the law requires and its own Code of Standards—and a list of other things you can do to help—are obtainable from the NCHE national office, 7705 Georgia Ave., NW, Suite 208, Washington, DC 10012.

As Anita Shelton says—and it comes across clear as a bell in the film—"Our employers trust us with their children, their valuables, their household appliances, their automobiles, the preparation of their food, their health and their safety. Yet, we are the lowest paid workers in the United States."

Dr. Donna Allen is director of the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press and editor and publisher of the monthly *Media Report to Women*. They are located in Washington, D.C.



# DIALOG

## The Ruth Yannatta campaign: Here's what really happened, her manager says

Dave Lindorff's report of recent elections in Los Angeles (*ITT*, July 6) contains factual errors that appear to stem from his dislike of electoral politics, particularly within the Democratic party.

As campaign manager for Ruth Yannatta, I had intimate knowledge of her campaign.

The article stated that Yannatta "soft-pedaled" the issues, made little, if any, effort to reach out to the minority community, and had not excited much enthusiasm among left activists. In contrast, Jim Stanberry, a candidate for the L.A. city council on the Peace and Freedom ticket, was reported to have run an authentic left campaign, to have raised issues, and gone down in a noble defeat.

True, Yannatta didn't run as a "Socialist." That was not our strategy. As *ITT* readers know, those of us associated with the Hayden campaign and other

left efforts such as Berkeley Citizens Action think it is self-defeating to run on such a label. We may be wrong, but in order to assess our strategy people must know what we actually did.

Ruth ran on the general platform of "economic democracy," which we defined explicitly in our campaign literature. Our goal was to put together a strong left coalition of labor, women, minorities, environmentalists, consumer activists, and community organizers. I think we were successful.

Lindorff claimed that we made no effort to reach out to the minorities in our district. In fact, we made every effort, and the difficulty of the task can only be judged by reporting accurately on what we attempted and then evaluating our success. We had a photo of Ruth with black Congressman Ron Dellums in our literature. We were endorsed by strong leaders in the black community. We had black precinct walkers from a local black political organization walk every black precinct in the district.

Why didn't we receive more black votes? Because one of the other candidates (there were 13 in the race) was a black city councilman from Santa Monica—a rightwing politician who attacked Ruth's and my personal life, called us extremists and our programs dangerous and socialistic.

In this district black voters tend to be professionals or small businessmen—and their outlook is relatively conservative. This is the political reality in many areas—and it can be changed only when there are black political organizations that register blacks to vote and with which white leftists can form alliances.

Ruth ran well among Chicano voters and in the Japanese community.

We mailed women who registered with Ms. in front of their names a special card listing Ruth's endorsements from all the major women's political organizations in the country.

We mailed all Democrats a special issue piece on housing and taxes. This piece called for a special tax on speculators to penalize those who buy and sell homes and apartments without living in them; the piece advocated state loans to tenants to form cooperative apartments, as well as a system of low-interest government loans for homebuyers; the piece supported tax reform to make the state income tax more progressive and to eliminate capital gains benefits. The mailing was well received, especially among senior citizens.

We made a special effort to win senior citizen votes. We had a senior citizen coordinator—an elderly man active in the community—and a person on our staff visited every nursing home in the district. Ruth spoke at least twice at every senior citizen lunch program in the district.

On the final weekend of the campaign 200 people walked precincts for three days straight.

With all this effort, why didn't we win?

The answer is that our opponent was the establishment personified. His name was Mel Levine, an ambitious young lawyer. Mel comes from a wealthy family with wide political connections. His father had for many years been a fundraiser for the liberal Republican Senator Tom Kuchel, and was close to the liberal Republican Congressman from our area. Both endorsed Mel.

In a special election in California, voters can "crossover" and vote for candidates of the opposite party. Levine mailed five to seven pieces to Republican voters.

The regular Republican candidates—both conservative—attacked Ruth, not Mel. They called her a puppet of Tom Hayden and said that economic democracy really meant socialism. The local conservative Republican Santa Monica paper attacked Ruth throughout the campaign as a tool of Tom Hayden.

Levine's father also had political connections with moderate Democrats, and Levine received the endorsements of Sen. Hubert Humphrey and Alan Cranston. Every Democratic voter received a "personal" computerized letter on "official" stationery from Humphrey and from

Cranston saying what a fine young man Levine was.

In addition, Levine was actively supported by the state's Democratic party leadership who feared that a Yannatta victory would strengthen Hayden within the party and give leftwing Democrats a voice in the state legislature.

The most expert campaign managers in the state flocked to Levine's campaign. Over 30 different letters of endorsement from a variety of front organizations were mailed out.

Altogether, Levine spent \$200,000 defeating us in the election. We spent about \$100,000. Most of his money came from business interests.

In spite of the opposition that we faced from moderate Democrats, from business, and from Republicans, Ruth almost won. Levine beat her by 1,500 votes—a margin of 2.5 percent. The crucial difference was Republican crossovers. 4,500 Republicans voted for Democratic candidates, at least half, it appears, for Levine.

Ruth lost because Levine unified the center: liberal Republicans and conservative Democrats. A similar phenomenon happened in Berkeley where Republicans and moderate Democrats united against the left slate. Levine also did well among Jewish voters—a group he targeted with a strong "I'm for Israel" stance.

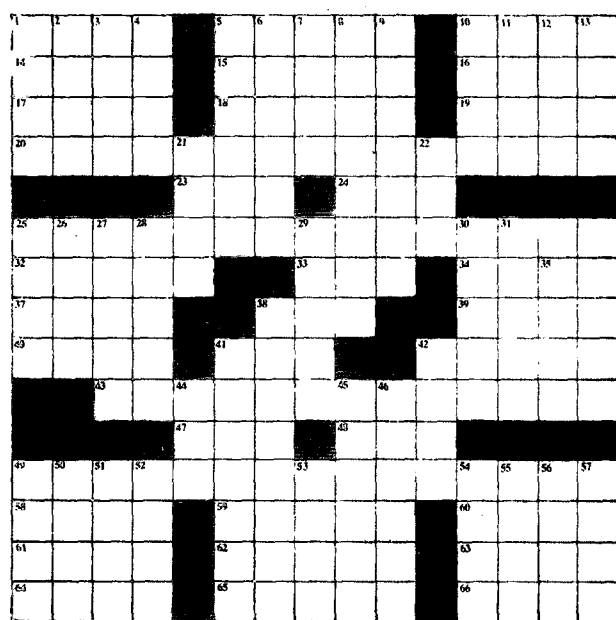
What are the lessons of our experience?

I'm not certain. We established the left as an electoral force on the west side of Los Angeles, and Ruth should win the Assembly seat when Levine, who is very ambitious, moves up politically. We have 1,000 names of supporters and have good relations with women's groups, some labor unions, and a number of community groups. The press and many citizens consider Ruth a spokesperson for her community. We learned many skills needed to run an electoral campaign. We also learned a great deal about the community in a way and with an intensity that is practically impossible in day-to-day work. Campaigns have a dynamic and excitement that other political work lacks, though of course there are dangers in getting hooked on campaigns. Campaigns also force the left to learn to communicate with a mass audience in a clear and intelligible way.

—Derek Shearer  
Los Angeles

## Utopia

By David Mermelstein



### Across:

- 1 Licentious festivity
- 5 \_\_\_\_\_ New World
- 10 Cushions
- 14 Send a message
- 15 Read, in Essen
- 16 Mine, in Nice
- 17 Collar or jacket
- 18 Type of squash
- 19 Found at Shea Stadium or Lincoln Center
- 20 Published in 1891
- 23 Counterpart to Rep.
- 24 Mary Todd's husband
- 25 Author of 49 Across
- 32 Christian priest at Alexandria
- 33 Pub drink
- 34 International air org.
- 37 Soapy water froth
- 38 Pen
- 39 Look over
- 40 Often are fragile
- 41 Anti-liquor group: Abbr.

### Down:

- 42 George \_\_\_\_\_, Eng. dram. & poet
- 43 Author of 20 Across
- 47 Hebrew letter
- 48 Lobe or muff
- 49 Published in 1888
- 58 Social Security abbr.
- 59 Muse of poetry
- 60 Ex-CIA operative
- 61 Chinese god
- 62 Wickerwork material: Var.
- 63 Dies \_\_\_\_\_
- 64 Ottoman
- 65 Methods: Abbr.
- 66 Brook \_\_\_\_\_, founded by George Ripley

### Down:

- 1 English reformer associated with New Harmony
- 2 Ceremony
- 3 "How does your garden \_\_\_\_\_?"
- 4 Urges
- 5 What the trumpets did

- 6 Fix one's hair again
- 7 Biblical name
- 8 Pertaining to spring
- 9 Exalt
- 10 Trail
- 11 Love, in Nancy
- 12 Activist
- 13 Beget
- 21 Belonging to the 32nd president
- 22 Algonquin
- 25 Comfort
- 26 Aspirin or LSD
- 27 Golf \_\_\_\_\_
- 28 Also, in Dijon
- 29 The child \_\_\_\_\_ TV Dinner every night
- 30 Scrooge was one
- 31 Lie, in Toledo
- 35 Dutch E. Ind. weight
- 36 Once: Scottish
- 38 Fish capable of inflicting painful wounds
- 41 Arrangers
- 42 Some appropriations
- 44 Chou En-\_\_\_\_\_
- 45 One buys \_\_\_\_\_ the butcher
- 46 Cities in Georgia and France
- 49 \_\_\_\_\_ Horizon
- 50 Hawaiian island
- 51 Dare, in Lyon
- 52 Twist
- 53 Baseball equipment
- 54 Homeless child
- 55 Site of Taj Mahal
- 56 Bring up
- 57 Have an opinion

answers to last week's puzzle:

DAD WASTE SUDS  
UTAH CORN TREC  
COMPROMISE ELBA  
CANNABIS SUPROAR  
LUNE URINATE  
ALIEN ODSOC DES  
NEURON RECAPT  
DIEM TAURO TIPS  
OTHER MENACE  
AGE TEENY MCNEIL  
GRAMSCI SUGI WIFE  
ROSETO BAN WAVE  
ETTA BERLIN GIVER  
ETON VALSEVEN  
SONS ENEMY PIRE

## More Letters

### Pans our pans, knocks our kudos

Editor:

Although your paper generally assumes an intelligent political perspective, your movie reviews have been an exception. Not only have you ignored many explicit political films around, but you have also consistently failed to discover the significant political content of the "escapist" films on which you focus. (Zilvermit's exposure of the sexism and racism of *The Deep* was an exception, but how important is a film like *The Deep* to thinking people?)

Hertel's unequivocal panning of *Welcome to L.A.* was both ahistorical and apolitical, finding in this (admittedly faulty) depiction of bourgeois decadence only "boredom and ennui." Similarly, Mavis Lyons' unequivocal tribute to *Annie Hall* ignored the political implications of its treatment of the left, women, and gay men.

But Garafola's treatment of *New York, New York* and Lyons' praise of *Star Wars* are your worst offenses to date. Garafola accuses Scorsese of never questioning the way in which his film relates to "real life," but in fact it is she who fails to explore this question because she is so preoccupied with form and style. Here is a film with one of the best depictions of the pitfalls of threatened masculinity and the ability of wo-

men to transcend this danger that I have seen in a long while, and yet your review reduces this political content to a brief mention of "machismo." Of equal political importance is the insight into the ways in which the racial segregation of the '40s shackled the development of culture and society. This is totally ignored.

Mavis Lyons acclaims *Star Wars* for being "two hours and three minutes of entertainment without sex or gore." In fact, the absence of "gore" is only because of the fascistic efficiency of the technocratic violence, which is the film's sole *raison d'être*. The conflict between the "good guys" and the "bad guys" only makes Lyons wonder "what will be the next miraculous effect?" Is this the most incisive political analysis that your newspaper can muster?

—Beverly Burris  
New York City

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## LIFE IN THE U.S.

## HISTORY

## Nagging questions at Farmer-Labor party tribute

A major topic at the tribute to former Farmer-Labor party Rep. John Bernard was a way out of the box that the Minnesota left is now in.

**H**IBBING, MINN.—Over 400 people gathered at Mesaba Park near Hibbing in Minnesota's Iron Range June 29 to honor John T. Bernard, Farmer-Labor representative from this district in the '30s.

Bernard, now 84, was elected in 1936 on the Farmer-Labor party ticket in the same sweep that re-elected Franklin Delano Roosevelt and saw Elmer Benson elected Minnesota's second Farmer-Labor governor.

Bernard distinguished himself in Congress in his second day in office by casting the only vote in either house against Roosevelt's Spanish Arms Embargo.

John Bernard was militant in his support of labor, as illustrated by the greeting sent by Bob Travis, the leader of the 1937 sit-down strike of General Motors autoworkers in Flint, Mich.

"I want to remind you of John Bernard, the spokesman for the embattled UAW Flint sitdown strikers, for he and Sen. Gore of Idaho were the only members of Congress to stand up for the autoworkers' right to use so unorthodox a means of wresting our first union contract from General Motors.

"Not only did Bernard stand up for us in Congress, but he sent us thousands of copies of his speech to be distributed around Flint. And he came to Flint, at his own expense, climbed through a window of Fisher Body Plant Number 1, and brought his personal message of cheer and

solidarity to the cold and worried men inside."

#### Carter/Mondale a failure.

Former Gov. Elmer Benson was present, offering tribute to Bernard in his first public speech in almost 30 years:

"I think the Carter/Mondale ticket deceived and lied to a confiding American people," Benson declared. "They led the American people to believe that they were populists. They led the American people to believe that they were going to cut military appropriations. They led the American people to believe that if Mr. Vance is named Secretary of State and Mr. Brzezinski is named chairman of the Foreign Relations Advisory Committee, this election will be a failure."

"Well, Vance is Secretary of State, and Brzezinski is chairman of foreign affairs. So then, according to the President's own manager, this election must have been a failure."

Also speaking was Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist party, USA. Hall is originally from this area and he and his parents helped establish Mesaba Park, where the tribute was held.

#### Early opposition to capitalism.

Minnesota's Farmer-Labor party was established in 1920 out of the remains of the Socialist party and Non-Partisan League. By 1923, the Farmer-Laborites had captured both state Senate seats and in 1930 Floyd Olson was elected Minnesota's first Farmer-Labor governor.

This same period saw the worst side of the Depression and the 1934 Minnesota FLP platform outlined the party's position that capitalism had failed and that immediate steps had to be taken by the people to abolish it in a peaceful and lawful manner.

The FLP called for "a new sane and just society" where "all the natural resources, machinery of production, transportation and communication shall be

owned by the government and operated democratically for the benefit of all the people and not for the benefit of the few."

In 1936 Floyd Olson died, and although the Farmer-Labor state ticket was swept into office that November, the party soon began its decline. Suffering from the lack of a leader of Olson's stature, various factions and personalities within the party began to fight amongst themselves, leading to a bloody, red-baiting gubernatorial primary contest in 1938 between Gov. Elmer Benson and Hjalmar Petersen.

Benson won the primary battle only to lose the election in November to Republican Harold Stassen. That defeat was indicative of the FLP's fortunes after 1936; with FDR riding tall in the saddle and with potential Farmer-Laborite presidential candidate Floyd Olson gone from the scene, the FLP lost its initial elan and was increasingly co-opted by the New Deal.

The process started in 1936 when the Democrats withdrew their candidates for state office in Minnesota in return for the support of the Farmer-Laborites in Roosevelt's bid for re-election, and culminated in 1944 with the merger of the Minnesota Democratic and Farmer-Labor parties.

#### A way out of present dilemma?

A major topic of discussion at the tribute was the way out of the political isolation in which the left in Minnesota has found itself since the merger of the two parties 33 years ago. Gus Hall stressed that "we were able to elect Elmer Benson and John T. Bernard because we had an independent political movement, a party independent of the old parties."

When asked about building Farmer-Labor type parties today in their light of their co-optation in the past, Hall simply said "I think that some form of politically independent new party is going to emerge. I think it's inevitable. Therefore, we look upon it in that light..."

"Of course, I'm for socialism and al-



Floyd Olson, first Farmer-Labor governor of Minnesota.

ways have been. I think the left, however, has to be broader than those who believe in socialism.

"The new people's party we would like to see develop would have to take positions that are against big business and monopoly, but [would] not necessarily [be] a party for socialism... The question of socialism is for parties that are for socialism, but I think we need a broader political force that will really challenge the two old parties of big business. It's an anti-monopoly concept."

#### New populist alliance?

Another strategy for the Minnesota left was present at the Bernard tribute in the form of literature from the "Alliance of Minnesota Populists." The Alliance was formed recently by a group of liberal democrats to "bring our proposals into the DFL party clubs and platform committees, particularly now with Gov. Perpich offering populist leadership." (Perpich is Minnesota's Humphrey-style Democratic governor.)

The preamble to the Alliance's "Agenda for Populism" says "we are confident that we can go beyond warmed-over New Dealism." Its first demand is "passage of the original Humphrey/Hawkins legislation to make the government the employer of the last resort." AMP leaflets refer to "the tradition of Minnesota populism, going back to the Farmer-Labor party and the Non-Partisan League," but they offer little analysis of the meaning of "populism" or its cooptation by the Democratic/Farmer-Labor party. And in a state where the Democrats claim both Floyd Olson and Hubert Humphrey, such an analysis is essential.

## CITIZEN ACTION

## Irate truckers win "Fuzzbusters"

**A** Virginia state trooper slides quietly into the parking lot of Jarrell's Truck Plaza outside Richmond. At Jarrell's huge semi-trucks are packed wall-to-wall waiting like silent drayhorses for their drivers to swallow a second cup of 100-mile coffee and a quick dinner of steak and green beans. The silent Smokey flips the trigger on his speedgun radar and immediately small red lights pop on in the cabs of a dozen trucks.

The trooper disregards the warm Christmas tree twinkle of the lights. He carefully jots down the license numbers on the tractor-trailers.

The red lights, you see, are connected to radar receivers, little black boxes called "Fuzzbusters" mounted to the dash. Fuzzbusters warn of police radar traps up to two miles away. In the third year of the "Double Nickel" speed limit and ionispheric fuel prices, Fuzzbusters have become the fastest selling over-the-road toy since CB radios. Three hundred thousand, \$30 million worth, were sold last year.

But in the Commonwealth of Virginia Fuzzbusters are against the law. The of-

Virginia was busting truckers using the little black boxes on their dashboards to tell them when a state trooper was approaching.

fending truckers will be pulled over when they leave Jarrell's and be handed a green-stamp fine of up to \$100. Their Fuzzbusters, each costing \$89.95, will be confiscated and destroyed by the local judge.

In the last year and a half, according to one Lexington, Va., attorney, over 4,000 truckers and motorists have been busted for carrying Fuzzbusters or the rival "Bearfinder."

Now, in what could be called the Great Fuzzbuster Showdown, the Independent Truckers Association and the manufacturer, Electrolert of Troy, Ohio, are fighting back with Smokey-the-Bear baiting vengeance.

"The name of the game in Virginia is revenue from traffic fines, not safer driving," Mike Parkhurst, the feisty editor of *Overdrive*, "The Voice of the American

Trucker," told me in Los Angeles. "Radio waves are under the purview of the FCC. No radio can be banned by a state, and the Fuzzbuster is just a radio."

"The law is unconstitutional," agrees Neil Saunders, spokesperson for Electrolert, a company that used to be on the other side of the speedtrap when it manufactured police radar guns. "The law puts an undue burden on out-of-state truckers, especially since Fuzzbusters are perfectly legal in surrounding states."

Last November an irate Parkhurst met with Fuzzbuster executives, and together they cooked up an imaginative protest. Electrolert agreed to manufacture 15,000 fake Fuzzbusters—cardboard decoy boxes designed to bamboozle state police cruising down the Interstates. Parkhurst, who helped to kick off the 1974 truckers' strike

over fuel prices by his fiery editorials in *Overdrive*, set up distribution points throughout Virginia.

With Parkhurst also "recommending" that truckers ring the state capitol and form mile-long convoys inching forward at 35 mph to tie up Virginia's freeways, the Fuzzbuster Showdown promised to be every bit as chaotic and effective as the 1974 trucker shutdown.

Then the state legislature threw in the oil rag. Several days before the big Jan. 31 protest was to begin, the Virginia assembly voted overwhelmingly to repeal the 1962 law banning radar-detecting equipment.

But even now the governor had not yet agreed to sign. So Parkhurst and the truckers are still waiting at the overpass, ready to move against the 55 mph speed limit and what they consider to be restrictive load laws, as well as the Fuzzbuster restrictions.

But Electrolert, the manufacturer, is claiming victory. Does anybody want, they ask, now 15,000 fake Fuzzbusters?

Steve Chapple is a freelance writer in San Francisco.



## SPORTS

# New left veteran defends his past as baseball fan

## BASEBALL AND THE COLD WAR

By Howard Senzel

Harcourt Brace, Jovanovich, N.Y., 1977, \$10.00

Remember Frank Verdi? The third baseman for the Rochester Red Wings who was struck with a stray bullet during a game between Rochester and the Havana Sugar Kings in Havana on July 26, 1959, the first year of the Cuban Revolution? One year later, the International League (triple A) shifted its Havana franchise to Jersey City and professional baseball was gone from Cuba, another victim of the "crusade against Communism." This obscure incident is the starting point for Howard Senzel's remarkable new book.

*Baseball and the Cold War*, aptly subtitled "a soliloquy," revolves around Senzel's efforts to investigate this bizarre series of events, and, in the process, to piece together the disconnected strands of his own life.

When the "new left" fell apart in the early '70s, it left Senzel disoriented, "floating through American time and space with neither culture nor identity." To help get his bearings, Senzel decided to immerse himself in a project that linked the great passion of his childhood, baseball, with that of his adolescence and youth, radical politics. The Frank Verdi/Havana Sugar Kings affair seemed ideal for that purpose and so Senzel returned to Rochester, the city he grew up in, to examine the history of professional baseball in Cuba, before and after the Revolution.

What Senzel discovered, however, was hardly of earth-shattering significance. After going through the Rochester papers, interviewing sportscasters and officials of the club, he found there was no "behind the scenes" story or CIA plot—just a predictable tale of venality and sensitivity to political pressure on the part of the small-town businessmen who ran minor league baseball in those days.

The real story for Senzel was the feelings evoked in him as his research progressed—his inability to feel at home in the city of his birth, his emotional distance from old friends and relatives, the inability of his new left "reflexes" to provide

him with direction in a time when visions of limitless prosperity and utopian dreams of revolt had both lost their credibility. The two cultural settings that had been most meaningful to him—the working class neighborhood of his early childhood and the radical community he felt part of in the '60s had both seemingly disintegrated, leaving in their wake a standardized corporate culture devoid of "human characteristics."

Surveying Rochester in the mid-'70s, a city filled with McDonalds and Kentucky Fried Chicken, where Bob Dylan concerts were marketed like a new model car, Senzel writes: "One morning, long before it was true, we awoke to find that our culture had been replaced. Gone were all the restaurants shaped like chicken and ships... That special quality that the human mind and hand give to the things they care about is gone from the marketplace and survives only in gift shops and hobbies."

In the cultural vacuum Senzel found himself within, the most authentic feeling available was his love of baseball. In the course of his research Senzel gradually recaptures the emotions he experienced as a devoted Red Wing fan, and finds they are virtually the only part of his childhood that is readily translatable into his adult life.

The reason for this, Senzel concludes, is that baseball is one of the few aspects of American culture that has not been distorted beyond recognition by the corporate world, that can stir the imagination of observers in much the same way it did 15 or 50 years before.

"When I think of all the minute details of my everyday life," Senzel writes, "that have been organized against my satisfaction and in favor of corporate profits, I think that baseball has survived miraculously well... Baseball is big business... [but] the same baseball is a child's pleasure on a sunny afternoon, an internal world of knowledge and speculation, theoretical studies and practical theories, and a body of pure thought that is as likely to enchant a serious adult as it does a merry child."

This conclusion, needless to say, is sharply at variance with the common "rad-



Photo: J. Weinick/Montage-Free

ical" view which Senzel once accepted that spectator sports are an "opiate" that divert people's attention from the problems they face and prevent them from rebelling against their oppressors. Sports are indeed a refuge, Senzel shows, but a refuge from a wide array of anxieties for which there are no simple solutions.

To deprive people of this outlet, he suggests, is to deny them one of their most genuine and spontaneous sources of pleasure and fulfillment.

In addition, Senzel takes on the myth of the "passive spectator" by showing us the remarkable variety of ways fans use sports as a springboard for fantasy and speculation, a reference for aesthetic and moral judgment, and a focal point of sociability and community spirit.

Being a rabid baseball fan as a child, Senzel feels, did not inhibit his political development; rather, it provided him with

an heroic image of human possibilities that was entirely consistent with his evolution as a radical activist. "Nearly every summer," he writes, "I saw human capability stretched to its limits by conflicting desire... It inspired me... to be a little more grand, a little more stylish, and as noble as I could possibly be."

Despite its good natured tone, the book ends on a pessimistic note. Senzel does not really see any way to stop the corporate world from absorbing and destroying everything he holds dear, and he makes no programmatic suggestions.

Senzel's strength is that he provides us with a powerful image of one way that people have been able to maintain contact with their past and find space in which their imagination can roam free and their sociability flourish. For that effort, he is profoundly to be thanked.

—Mark Naison

By Marvin E. Gettleman

Fencing and some of its technology surfaced briefly in the press last summer when a Soviet Olympic competitor in Montreal apparently rigged his electrical foil to show a "touch" when none was made. In fencing salles and clubs ardent fencers regretted that the sport had got some bad press, and there was much speculation about the punishment meted out to the offending athlete. But, at the same time, the incident did focus attention on a much neglected and growing sport.

There are three basic weapons in fencing. Foil, along with the heavier epee, are now judged electrically; scoring is accomplished by a valid touch of the point of one's weapon against the designated target area on the opponent (an area that differs with the different weapons). With the third competition weapon, the saber, valid touches can be made both by the side of the blade or the point and no feasible method for electronic scoring of saber bouts has yet been devised.

The advent of electrical scoring in the mid-'50s has helped democratize a minor sport. Until then, the judges and directors of fencing bouts had absolute discretion in assigning and determining valid touches. Old-time fencers remember a pervasive bias against Jews and other non-WASPS in those days.

Until the last few years women fenced

only foil, while the other two weapons were exclusively male domains. But now women in increasing numbers fence epee and saber, and this has forced the Amateur Fencers League of America to schedule women's meets in all three weapons.

A highly energetic sport that demands considerable stamina from participants, fencing places no great premium on strength, once a certain threshold of endurance is reached. It's primarily a sport of skill and economy in which minimal motion is often the most successful. A subtle parry—just enough to deflect the opponent's blade—leaves the defender in the most advantageous position to make a riposte, or counter-thrust.

Women who master classical fencing form, with its economical defense neatly balanced by energetic attack and counter-attack, can compete with men or with each other on every level in this virtually androgynous sport.

Fencing has a number of advantages that suggest why it should be a popular

sport. It can be a lifetime activity in which subtlety, precision and timing of older fencers can overcome the greater mobility of younger opponents.

It's a highly psychological sport as well, in which feints, timing shifts and surprise maneuvers are often decisive. Fencing develops reflexes to a high degree, and thus contributes to general well-being and alertness.

The initial outlay is modest: \$15 for a foil with one or two replacement blades; \$25 for a padded jacket, with metal breast-protectors for women; a wire mesh face mask and gauntlet round out a beginner's equipment for another \$20 or so. A novice can wear sweatpants and sneakers.

Fencing partners are not hard to find, at least in the urban centers; good coaches, however, are scarce. Clubs and salles, like the modest and unpretentious Santelli establishment in Greenwich Village where I fence, are inexpensive and accessible. In other places a notice on a conspicuous bulletin board should be enough to bring near-

by fencers out of the closets.

Why then, with all these advantages, has fencing failed thus far to attain a level of popularity anywhere near that of, say, tennis?

One reason for the seemingly built-in lack of popularity for fencing is that, while capable of attracting loyal and enthusiastic practitioners, fencing is not, and possibly cannot be, a spectator sport; the action is simply too fast and intricate for non-fencers to see, let alone savor and appreciate.

Fencing thus poses questions that have considerable cultural significance. Can a sport "take off" into popularity only when the active participants are supplemented by sedentary viewers? What is the function of at least a potentially appreciative audience to an athlete? Is there an exhibitionist element in sport? Just what is the relationship between spectator and athlete? Does this vary under different cultural and political systems? Is it possible to conceive of some technical device—instant slow-motion replay of televised fencing matches, for example—which would elevate fencing from a minor sport to a truly popular and widely followed pastime?

Marvin E. Gettleman is a sub-novice fencer at Girogio Santelli's Salle D'Armes in New York City. He teaches history at the Polytechnic Institute of New York.

## Fencing foils foes picks up fans fast





## (off the record)

By Sidney Blumenthal  
and Danny Schechter

### What's in a rating

Network television is priming for its biggest ratings battle since Walter Cronkite outpointed Huntley and Brinkley. The FCC has already warned broadcasters that their licenses may be revoked or suspended if they are caught rigging audience surveys. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, the FCC has already learned of "several cases where broadcasters obtained rating diaries and filled them out to show that more people were watching their stations than actually were."

The danger of fraud in the ratings ought to be mitigated by the fraud of the ratings themselves. These services are supposed to offer reliable gauges of audiences but they have questionable statistical validity. They provide scant information about what radio listeners or TV viewers desire or need in programming. Ratings are more a marketing tool used to measure profitability, than a reflection of the complex opinions of consumers.

The autumn ratings war is billed as a blood battle—"the year of the jugular,"

according to NBC program executive Erwin Segelstein. "Every week will be a separate ratings race," he says.

Still, losers will not lose money. Les Brown, television critic of the *New York Times* explains, "So bullish is the network television economy that low rated programs do not lose money; they merely lose the network's potential for making more money in those time periods."

Profit-fever has already virtually destroyed progressive FM radio as an alternative source of music and news. As the drive for higher radio ratings intensified, management sought less idiosyncratic formats to build wider audiences and make more loot. A more homogenized sound was dictated by marketplace logic. Squads of consultants buzzed around the radio circuit spreading the orthodoxy of mediocre but lucrative programming; innovative or controversial shows were the victims.

None of this is especially surprising since capitalists can be expected to rationalize operations in the pursuit of the buck. What is surprising, however, is the degree to which unreliable information, falsely presented as scientifically accurate, is used systematically in decision-making.

The Arbitron (ARB) service, among others, is a scandal waiting to be exposed and broadcast trade publications have

been filled with statements by professionals in the field decrying the ratings system as inaccurate.

But no matter how questionable the system, advertising agencies prefer to deal with numbers. As a result, radio stations may be able to double their ratings (and revenues) with just six or seven more listeners compiling diaries in their favor.

### Pulling some shades

"Well, I'm one stubborn old Social Democrat who isn't going to pull down the shades," wrote George Meany's favorite syndicated columnist, John Roche, on June 28. He's upset that the Carter administration is engaged in negotiations with the Vietnamese about normalizing relations. To Roche, this is "moral bankruptcy."

Roche is particularly incensed at liberals like Allard Lowenstein, a deputy delegate to the United Nations and leader of the "Dump Johnson" movement in 1968, who, according to Roche, "played a tragic role in turning Indochina into a totalitarian inferno." Roche neglects to mention that at the same time Roche himself was serving as Johnson's "Intellectual-in-Residence," a unique station from which he pontificated against critics of the war.

As the "brain" in the White House (it couldn't be called a "brain trust") Roche was sent to Saigon to assist Thei and Ky in writing their constitution. The brief life of that regime must personally wound him.

Roche uses his forum to spin a political line for Meany and company. The new dogma he proposes is that the U.S. should publicize atrocities in Vietnam (which he labels "the Communist butcher") in order to distract human rights advocates from unsavory places like South Africa. "The last thing our human rights honchos should do is blackout Southeast Asia and switch to Africa or Latin America," he writes.

### Friends of Pinochet

The farther away a story is from the block a newspaper is located on the likelier it is that it will be distorted. One story that was deliberately misrepresented in many American papers was the tenure of Salvador Allende as president of Chile.

Any item designed to demonstrate the incompetence and repressiveness of his experimental government was amply aired in the U.S. Nobody knows just how many of these stories were planted by the CIA and the journalists it bankrolled.

The overthrow of Allende has not stopped the stream of misinformation. On June 5, for example, the editorially liberal *Boston Globe* printed a tidbit lifted from the *London Observer* (a British paper recently purchased by the Atlantic Richfield Oil Company). Under the headline "Chile's economy recovering," the story stated, "The Chilean economy, which was debauched by the left-wing theoreticians of Salvador Allende between 1970 and September 1973 and then pounded back into shape by the right-wing zealots of General Augusto Pinochet, is making an impressive recovery."

The article continued: "What is more, the fruits of it are beginning to find their way into the hands of the middle and working class Chileans." Statistics are then cited to buttress this rosy view. The source of the figures, however, is never given. The reader is left to guess that they come from DINA, the Chilean secret police, or perhaps from Milton Friedman.

A lengthy op-ed piece would be required to refute this story's telescoped lies. The *Globe* printed two letters-to-the-editor about the story, one for it and one against. Creating the impression that, if nothing else, the newspaper is fair-minded. Actually the editors of the *Globe* know better than this. They are normally enlightened about horrors like the Chilean junta. This raises the possibility that the *Observer* item slipped by, indicating sloppiness on the part of the *Globe* editors.

If this happens at the immaculately liberal *Globe*, imagine what occurs at, say, the *San Diego Union*, where the editors would be happy to exhume Allende in order to lecture him on the virtues of ITT.

Sidney Blumenthal writes for *The Real Paper*. Danny Schechter is the news director/dissector of WBCN-FM news in Boston.

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## ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

## THEATER

## A powerful tribute to black womanhood

**FOR COLORED GIRLS WHO HAVE CONSIDERED SUICIDE/WHEN THE RAINBOW IS ENUF**

By Ntozake Shange

Directed by Oz Scott, choreography by Paula Moss

Featured actresses: Trazana Beverly, Laurie Carlos, Aku Kadojo, Janet League, Paula Moss and Seret Scott

"I found god in myself and I love her fiercely."

On this note Ntozake Shange concludes her powerful tribute to black womanhood, *For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide/When the Rainbow Is Enuf*, which is scheduled for a nationwide tour in the 1977-78 season under the auspices of the Theatre Guild.

The play, which played to full houses on Broadway for an entire season and won several prestigious awards, is both a consciousness-raising experience and a collective biography, in which the playwright records the pain and triumph of black women in the dual struggle for identity as blacks and as women.

The opening episodes deal with girlhood encounters with the glories of the black past and the realities of the present. A black teenager flees her home in New Jersey for the salsa halls of the South Bronx and a culture with which she can identify. An eight-year-old bookworm discovers "my first black man"—Toussaint L'Ouverture—in the adult section of the neighborhood library. Book in hand she leaves her integrated block, neighborhood and school and sets out for Haiti,

only to discover among the debris of the Louisville ghetto another Toussaint—Toussaint Jones—who orders her to follow him to the docks.

As the characters cross the threshold of womanhood, Shange introduces the second major theme of the play: the conflict between the need for sexual fulfillment and the difficulty of creating satisfactory relationships with black men. (This conflict is also at the heart of Shange's new novel, *Sassafrass*, Shameful Hussy Press, 1976.) "Women lose all personal rights in the presence of a man" one of the characters in *Colored Girls* says.

During the next section, Shange explores some of the ways women allow themselves to be used in exchange for the transitory pleasure of sexual fulfillment. There is an amusing tale of courtship via poems and plants. There is the "passion flower of L.A.," who ends her nights of pleasure demanding that her guests leave before dawn. (It's her policy to sleep alone and record her impressions in a journal.) Climaxing this section is the sinuous dance of Sechia, mythic goddess of the Nile and the incarnation of Mississippi River love.

"Colored girls have no right to sorrow" but they do have a right to pain, to their own bitter tears, to the "stuffs" that make up the fabric of their life and identity. It is the assertion of this right that sets them on the path of liberation. There is a sequence where the characters mimic favorite male excuses, the funniest being, "But baby, you know I was high." In a more serious vein,

they defy their "lowdown, no account" brothers to be themselves rather than what society expects them to be.

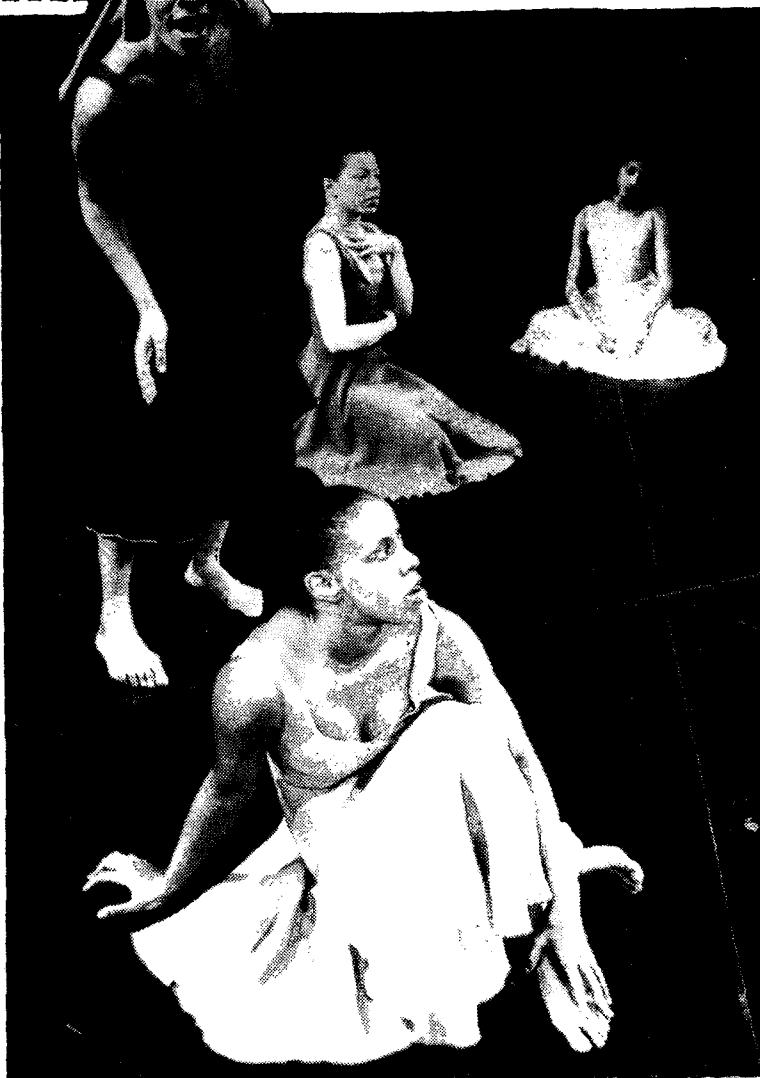
What finally leads to catharsis and unity among the characters is the recognition that the values of phallic power breed physical and emotional death. In the searing monologue, based on the poem, "a nite with beau willie brown," a 22-year-old Vietnam veteran, crazed by the war, the responsibilities of a family and no money, flings his two children from a fifth-floor window while their mother looks on. The harrowing narrative draws the characters together. In a laying-on of hands, they affirm their solidarity and new-found strength as women independent of men.

Splendidly acted, directed and written, *Colored Girls* has broken important ground in the American commercial theater. It was the only play on Broadway last season that spoke seriously to the black experience, and the only one to address the problem of women fashioning new roles for themselves. Hence its broad appeal.

In *Sassafrass*, Shange's protagonist dreams of creating "new images for blk folks," "new worlds" that will vindicate "all the african and indian dieties/ disgraced by the comin of the white/ man" and "make present our beauty." With *For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide/When the Rainbow Is Enuf*, the writer makes good her promise.

—Lynn Garafola

Lynn Garafola writes regularly for *In These Times*.



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—Barry Commoner  
author, *The Poverty of Power*

## ART

## Boston artists boycott show

Making artists pay for the chance to show their work is "antithetical," says Harold Tovish, a well-known sculptor and member of the Boston Visual Artists Union. "To use a stronger word, it's exploitation."

Thirty years ago, Tovish sent a large sculpture to a competition in Kansas City, paying \$5 to enter and \$17 for shipping, at a time when he was earning \$2100 a year. "I thought it was ludicrous," he recalls, "and I never did it again."

Hundreds of art competitions and open exhibitions across the country have discovered that charging artists entry fees is easier than seeking government or corporate funding. Frequently, artists whose work is rejected subsidize cash awards to those whose work is accepted. Actors and musicians would be outraged if they had to pay for the privilege of auditioning; yet many artists consistently shell out fees they can't afford, under the illusion that "as long as it's exposure, it's justified."

The practice of charging entry fees is not limited to small operations. It is also used by such prestigious institutions as the Worcester (Mass.) Art Museum, which this year solicited entries for a juried biennial exhibition to be hung June 11 to August 7. Any artist in the state was welcome to deliver two objects, along with \$4 per entry, for "The Massachusetts Open." The works would not be insured by the museum. No liability of any kind was assumed. The museum would retain a 20 percent commission on sales of work chosen for the show and would dole out \$4,250 in prize money.

The conditions of the competition drew fire from the fair practices committee of the Boston Visual Artists Union (BVAU), which represents nearly 1,000 artists. When the museum administration refused to drop the entry fee, to provide insurance, or to meet with committee representatives, the BVAU and the 30-member Worcester Artists Union took their protest to the sidewalk. During

the five-day entry period at the end of May, artists bringing work into the museum were politely confronted by colleagues with picket signs.

Carol McMahon of the BVAU fair practices committee believes that several hundred artists stayed away from the Worcester competition because of the protest. Only two BVAU members submitted work. "We tried to reach artists in other parts of the state, but weren't always able to," she says. Some who brought their works a long distance were reluctant to turn around and take them back. But McMahon estimates that about 60 who got as far as the museum steps decided against crossing the picket lines.

The museum's public relations director Jean Connor claims that 1,752 works by 1,040 artists were submitted despite the protest. (If so, the museum collected about \$7,000 in entry fees.) Connor justifies the charge on the grounds

Continued on page 23.

## NEXT WEEK IN THESE TIMES

Diana Johnstone from Israel's view of Carter; David France on the movement against nuclear power; Harry Boyte on the Citizen's Action Movement; David Mandel on

Israel's view of Carter; David Moberg on the union support for solar power; and Dan Marshall on the stripmining bill.

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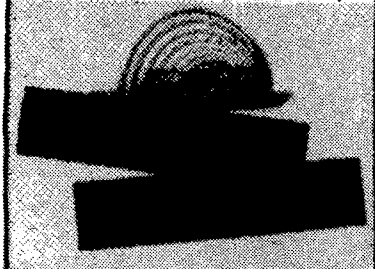
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# Recommended Records

## THE BEATLES AT THE HOLLYWOOD BOWL



**THE BEATLES AT THE HOLLYWOOD BOWL**  
The Beatles  
Capitol Records

The successful release of an album in 1977 made from tapes of Beatles concerts in 1964 and 1965 is testament to a number of things: the nostalgia that many people feel for the days of their innocent youth; the quality of the Beatles' music; the press-fanned desire for a Beatles reunion; and last, but not least, the venality of George Martin and Capitol Records.

There's no doubt that this album delivers what a lot of folks are buying it for—fond memories, a rush of recognition. Anyone who was a Beatles fan in the mid-'60s will get a warm feeling from hearing the screams of thousands of ecstatic teenagers at these concerts. Together with the photographs and other memorabilia included on the dust jacket and album cover, some of the ambience of Beatlemania has been successfully recreated.

Musically, however, there is little reason to listen to *The Beatles at the Hollywood Bowl*. Although the album proves the oft-stated (though not particularly important) opinion of rock critics that the Beatles could perform well before a live audience and were not just a studio-bound group, few of the songs are improvements on the old studio cuts. Most are, despite the valiant efforts of '70s technologists to restore tapes made in the unsophisticated '60s, not very clear, though I suppose there is some historical value in hearing only John Lennon's low harmony and not Paul McCartney's higher lead vocal on "She Loves You."

The cuts which impressed me most were, surprisingly, two of the ones not written by Lennon and McCartney. The version of Chuck Berry's "Roll Over Beethoven" features very strong George Harrison guitar work, and Paul belts out an extremely powerful vocal on "Long Tall Sally," the Little Richard song. And it goes almost without saying that John is as witty as ever, and Ringo is still a mediocre drummer. But overall, about the nicest thing one can say is that this album shows that the Beatles had a lot of energy when playing before an excited and adoring crowd.

Despite the fact that Capitol Records has been making a bundle by re-releasing the old Beatles albums and new packages of Beatles singles and has launched a huge publicity drive designed to recreate Beatlemania, George Martin has thechutzpah to claim in the liner notes that he worked on this album as "a labor of love." And Jimmy Carter has never told a lie to the American people.

Don't get me wrong. I love the Beatles. But since their old albums are still available, *The Beatles at the Hollywood Bowl* is of

interest primarily to the stockholders of Capitol Industries-EMI, Inc.

—Bruce Dancis

*Bruce Dancis reviews regularly for In These Times.*

## THE BEATLES LIVE! AT THE STAR-CLUB

Lingasong Records

*Live at the Star Club* was recorded when the Beatles were still an unknown pub band, wearing sleek black leather and entertaining small crowds with endless repetitions of other peoples' musical compositions. The group would sometimes travel from their home base of Liverpool to play in Hamburg, and one night in mid-1962 they were recorded on a home tape recorder that utilized one microphone. All four sides of this collection are poorly recorded, but still retain vitality and importance for any rock afficianado.

*Live at the Star Club* documents the debt the Beatles owed to black American rock and roll artists like Chuck Berry. They cover four of his songs and George can be heard stumbling over the first few chords to the opening of "Roll Over Beethoven" while the band wheels through the tune with a reverent ferocity. Rockabilly in the music of Carl Perkins is present, and so are Phil Spector, Little Richard, Ray Charles and Lieber and Stoller. This was the music that the Beatles fed on while preparing their own unique voice and contribution to contemporary music.

The album is interesting for its defects. I'm not referring to the recording quality. That's a small price to pay for the rare chance of catching the group at such an early stage of its career. But this is the group at its most distant and jarring, before they cleaned up their act and conquered the world; the quintessential punks, proud of it and of their music!

It displays the jagged sounds of a group still stuck in the black-board jungle mystique. They understand where they're coming from but haven't quite figured out their final destination. You can hear members groping for a unique sound that occasionally flashes out in the beautiful harmonies of "Mr. Moonlight." This is the quality that affected the Beatles' music throughout their history and contributed to their power as innovators.

Fifteen years later it still shines through.

—Joe Heumann

*Joe Heumann reviews regularly for In These Times.*



**GOD SAVE THE QUEEN/DID YOU NO WRONG**  
The Sex Pistols  
Virgin Records (import) 45 rpm

During the week of Elizabeth II's Silver Jubilee, the #1 hit in England was "God Save the Queen"—but not to the tune that

was ripped off for "My Country 'Tis of Thee." This anthem, claiming that the Queen is "no human being" and calling for an end to the "fascist regime," is performed by Rock's latest outrage, the Sex Pistols.

Even before this timely release, the Pistols had got plenty of notoriety. They invented the safety-pin-through-the-cheek genre of punk chic and have inspired widespread revulsion the likes of which hasn't been seen since the Stones wore dirty sweatshirts on the Ed Sullivan show.

The Pistols' first single, "Anarchy in the UK" has been banned from every TV and radio station in the country. Their music has been kicked off BBC. And they are now the Hottest New Thing. A number of record companies, however, have found the Pistols too hot to handle and dropped them before they could produce an album.

They were finally picked up by Virgin Records, who released "God Save the Queen"—the only Pistols pressing available as an import, which you should try to lay your hands on at all costs.

In all the brouhaha, the Sex Pistols' detractors and defenders have ignored the crucial element of any band—the music. And the Pistols, let there be no doubt, are one hell of a band. The energy in lead singer Johnny Rotten's howling vocals explodes off the grooves in an uncontained, uncontrollable attack against whatever it is you've got, while the group slashes and pounds behind him.

"Queen" is a bit too calculated as an insult to be spontaneous and is burdened with "meaningful" lyrics. But "Did You No Wrong" is an all-out assault, reminiscent of the early Velvet's "White Light/White Heat" and a defiance that recalls the Who's "My Generation" (a group also widely reviled in its heyday for the wanton onstage destruction of equipment during performance).

In spirit the Pistols are closest to Iggy Pop (known to be capable of anything as long as someone finds it obnoxious) and as of this writing the Pistols' next single is scheduled to be a version of the Stooge's classic, "No Fun."

As rockers like the Sex Pistols push the limits of tolerance to a new edge, reaction to them grows in violence. Johnny Rotten, whose blunt-axe haircut and ripped-up suits held together with pins and staples, have captured the hearts of second-generation punk-rockers, was recently surrounded in a parking lot and knifed in the face by a band of royalist Teddy Boys, intent on teaching him respect for the Crown.

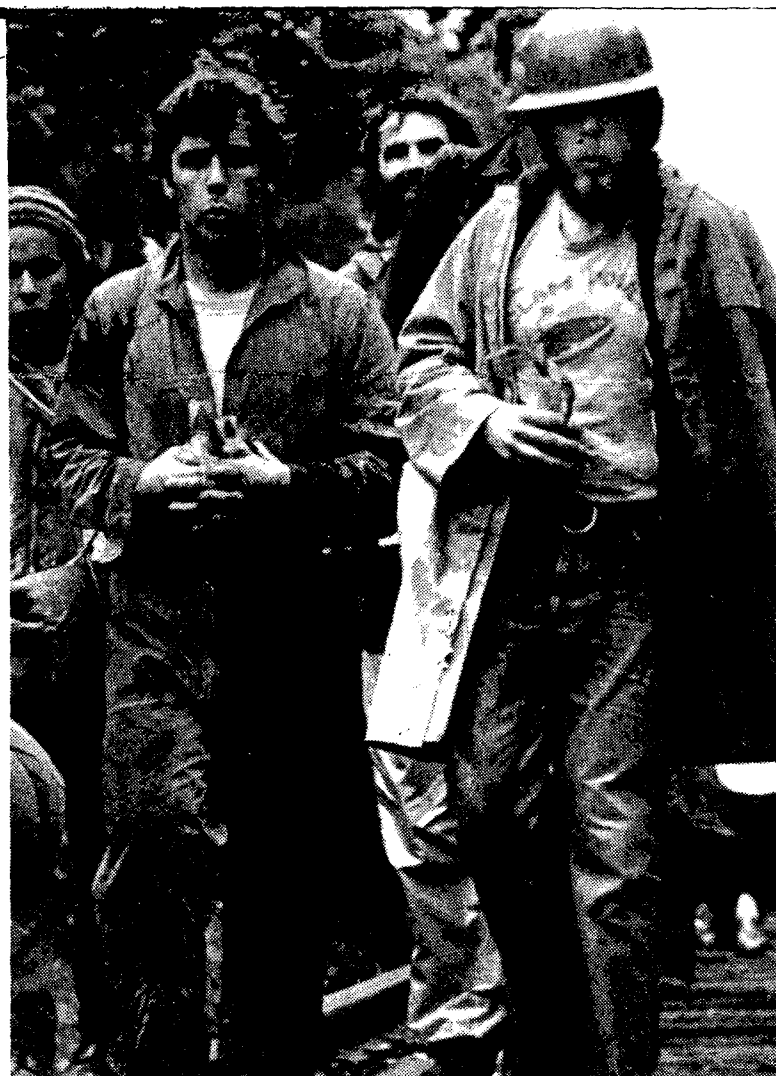
On the other hand, acceptance may be just around the corner. British designer Zandra Rhodes has introduced the "punk look" in haute couture—strategically torn frocks held together with jeweled pins—price: \$500 and up. What hath Rotten wrought?

—P. Hertel



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## BOOKS

# Seven very radical women

**SEVEN WOMEN, Portraits from the American Radical Tradition**

By Judith Nies  
Viking Press, 1976, \$8.95

The subtitle of this admirable book, *Portraits from the American Radical Tradition*, is a clue to the author's purpose. Radicals have been robbed twice over of something of which we have present need.

Most schoolbook American history has been taught so as to make our radical tradition almost invisible and mostly distorted. The true radical tradition is emerging, but it is not yet in full light. And there are almost no women revealed by it. Judith Nies begins here to restore the great women radicals to the tradition, knowing that to think of these heroic women simply as fighters for women's suffrage and women's rights is to impoverish both the present women's liberation movement and the larger political tradition of which it is a part.

After revelations of the poi-

troonery of such strong-holds of liberalism as the top command of Harvard University (cradle of presidents' advisors during the filthy '50s), it has been a cleansing experience to read this uncompromising account of uncompromising women, who—in the face of crushing obstacles, tragedies and threats—did not yield an inch to the enemy, refused to soften their message, behaved not only with physical and moral courage, but with the special courage of clear and powerfully effective intellects. The seven knew what they were doing and why they were doing it.

Some of them learned earlier than others. Anna Louise Strong, who was the youngest student ever to receive a PhD from the University of Chicago, took a great deal longer to learn the right use of mental and moral power than Harriet Tubman. The condition of slavery is a rapid teacher to the slave. But there is also Sara Grimke, daughter of slave-owners in Charleston, who at the age of five

was found on the wharf, demanding passage to a land where servants were not whipped. Many crowded years later the same Sara Grimke, speaking on the realities of slavery to a white female audience, asked, "Can any American woman look at these scenes of shocking license and cruelty and fold her hands in apathy and say, 'I have nothing to do with slavery'?" That is a question that has enjoyed a long and painful life and is not answered yet.

Harriet Tubman in this portrait is no "legendary figure." She is a guerilla general, deserving of a place in the hagiology of abolition as elevated as that of Frederick Douglass, more real than many living rulers of states. The same can be said of Mother Jones, another of the seven: her organizing genius, her selflessness and powerful love of the working class, her eloquence, her courage are no legend. Is there a male labor leader worthy to stand next to her?

In the portraits of Elizabeth

Cady Stanton, the under-rated and remarkable Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Sarah Grimke and Anna Louise Strong, we are looking at women of the educated middle class who refused to let their station in life keep them quiet and "lady-like." The refusal in the first three cases cost dearly, and although Anna Louise Strong had no family tyrants to torture her, she surely paid her dues in other ways.

I stood by her grave in the Cemetery of Revolutionary Heroes in Peking in 1973 and felt it deeply fitting that she should lie there. This most brilliant and dedicated of reporters not only hated injustice, but came to understand what had to be done to end it. She loved—with a critical love—the Chinese Revolution. She helped make it happen and helped countless members of my generation, who have been living through the ugliest stages of moribund imperialism, to have real hope for the future.

Dorothy Day is the last of the

Some learned earlier than others... Anna Louise Strong took a great deal longer than Harriet Tubman. Slavery is a rapid teacher to the slave.

seven. Without her, where would the peace movement be today? Where the magnificent young Catholic leaders in struggle against war, racism and poverty? Where would I—a devout atheist—be without having caught glimpses of *The Catholic Worker* in my middle years. I am glad she is alive and that Judith Nies ends her fine book with this fine portrait.

—Frances Putnam Fritchman

Frances Fritchman is an activist Unitarian and was a friend of Anna Louise Strong.

# Three not so very radical women

**LOOSE CHANGE**

By Sara Davidson  
Doubleday & Company, 1977,  
\$9.50

Sara Davidson wrote *Loose Change*, a book about herself and two other young women, to break the power that images of the '60s continue to have for her and for many other people. Excerpts have appeared in *Esquire* and the *Village Voice*, and the book is being touted as "...a major work of social history, a landmark book on what it was like to be young in America in the 1960s."

*Loose Change* is not a decisive social history. But it is an engrossing chronicle of manners and morality for people who were or are inclined to feel that Berkeley is the center of the world. This geocentricism may seem a bit bizarre; but in the '60s and early '70s, the University of California and its environs became a "national monument" partly because of extensive media coverage, and also because of genuine political and personal struggle.

Between 1960 and 1972, the Bay area was a wellspring of social movements that briefly captured the fears and fantasies of a nation. Political events included anti-HUAC demonstrations (1960), civil disobedience at the Sheraton Palace Hotel (1964), Free Speech Movement (1964), Vietnam Day (1965), Student Strike (1966), Stop the Draft Week (1967), Third World Strike (1968), and People's Park (1969). These incidents were emblems of more general social movements that took root in California: civil rights organizing, student power, anti-war campaigns, human potential movements and women's liberation.

All three of the main characters in *Loose Change* were touched in some ways by these movements. Only one woman, Susie, remained politically active and stayed in Berkeley for most of the decade. The other two friends, Sara and Tasha, drifted from California to Manhattan where they became inte-

Right: Sara Davidson

grated into the subcultures of expansive "new journalism" and expensive "new art." (A fourth woman, Candy, who is a psychoanalyst in London, refused to be interviewed for the book.)

Although the women took very different paths from the time they left their plush sorority house in 1962 until they rediscovered one another through interviews with Sara 10 years later, they all shared a class privilege that softened their personal and political risks. Each had been raised as a Jewish American Princess in Los Angeles and could return to Southern California for financial and emotional support when the going got rough.

Like many other college kids who were part of the Kennedy generation, Sara, Susie and Tasha believed they had the ability and the obligation to shape the nation's future:

...There were good people and bad people and we could tell them apart by a look or by words spoken in code. We were certain we belonged to a generation that was special. We did not need or care about history because we had sprung from nowhere... We had glimpsed a new world where nothing would be the same and we had packed our bags.

Davidson sometimes laughs at her own naivete; at other times longs for it. Her book as a whole reflects a similar contradiction. In some settings her characters mouth platitudes; in others they grapple with the real complexities of life.

While remaining sympathetic to the left, Davidson appears to have opted for a combination of communalism, psychotherapy and mysticism. She neither recognizes nor explores the full impact of feminism and Marxism on the people she knew. Her book fails as both a social history and as a guide for future action because it lacks clear political analysis of any sort. The absence of such analysis is particularly important to



note because *Loose Change* is being publicized as a book that not only describes, but also explains the '60s.

The best part of the book is its descriptions. There are passages when it is possible to taste the espresso in a Berkeley cafe or become a silent participant in a familiar argument. But the only ma-

jor lesson to be learned from these reminiscences is that transition is slow, painful, and often unexpected.

For Berkeleyphiles, *Loose Change* is a wonderful jigsaw puzzle of people and places. It also rates high as diverting reading with plenty of dope and sex. It is, however, neither a useful nor an

important work. Detail does not compensate for lack of depth, and Sara Davidson never gets "Beyond the Valley of the Liberals."

—Mimi Goldman

Mimi Goldman is a former Jewish Princess who escaped California to teach sociology at the University of Oregon.

# Boston artists boycott show

Continued from page 21.

that the show cost the museum about \$24,000. Actually some of that cost is overhead and would apply if there were no show. Another kind of exhibition would have involved even larger costs because works would have had to be insured.

"The point is, if we weren't having this show," says Connor, "these artists wouldn't have the opportunity to exhibit here." Most of those who entered didn't have the opportunity anyway, for the galleries set aside for the Massachusetts Open could accommodate only 120 to 150 works.

A vice-president of the museum who talked with BVAU pickets was more candid. Surprised by the protest, he explained that the idea behind the exhibition was

fundraising. An admission fee was charged viewers, and special entertainments were scheduled to draw larger-than-usual crowds.

The BVAU protest action is as much to educate the artists as it is to educate exhibiting institutions," says painter and BVAU member Lois Tarlow. "It's like the women's movement: they don't know they're getting screwed until it's called to their attention." There was a time during the '50s, Tarlow recalls, when a local chapter of Artists Equity managed to eliminate entry fees throughout New England, but Artists Equity "sort of died out here and entry fees crept back like a fungus."

Change is in the making, however. Artists Equity, the American Artists Congress and the Na-

tional Endowment for the Arts have all adopted resolutions opposing entry fees and endorsing proper insurance. Under its new guidelines, which take effect in 1978, the NEA will not fund art organizations that derive income from artists whose work they exhibit. (Similar NEA rules already apply to the performing arts.) Other Massachusetts museums—DeCordova in Lincoln and Danforth in Framingham—have run successful competitions without entry fees and with insurance. And the "Artists in Exile" exhibit (see *ITT*, June 22) was funded by BVAU members who raised \$7,000 from private sources.

—Judy Polumbaum

Judy Polumbaum is a graduate student in journalism.



# the cedric belfrage story

the editor who was exiled  
for premature anti-fascism.



Robert K. Schoeller

By Judy MacLean  
Staff Writer

One day in 1955, in a scene that could have come out of a Cold War movie, two trench-coated FBI agents with their hats turned down arrived at the New York offices of the *National Guardian* and arrested Cedric Belfrage, a co-founder and editor of the weekly newspaper. Belfrage, a British subject, was then deported, ostensibly for being a member of the Communist party.

The real reason, Belfrage says, "was support for the Rosenbergs, and because although our positions often differed from the Communist party, we never attacked them."

For the last 22 years Belfrage has been barred from entry into the U.S. except on special one-month "waivers," and then only if he can prove necessary business. IN THESE TIMES talked with Belfrage in our office about his years with the *National Guardian* on his most recent visit (his fifth

since deportation, this time to participate in a documentary on Hollywood's early days when Belfrage was a film critic.)

The *National Guardian*, with a peak circulation of 50,000, was a lone voice in the Cold War days of 1948. Its descendant, the *Guardian*, survives today, though the politics of the publication have changed.

"Our main purpose was total opposition to the Cold War and domestic political inquisition," says Belfrage of the paper's original intent. "We approached things quite like IN THESE TIMES is doing. We wanted to get away from left-wing jargon, to keep things brief, to talk in ordinary language. We didn't take sectarian positions; anyone on the left who wasn't an FBI agent was our friend. The effort was to get people on the left together on issues everyone agreed to."

## Fellow travelers.

J. Edgar Hoover liked to say in those days that for every member of the Communist party, there were ten "fellow travelers" who were even more dangerous since they were harder to detect. "I would say our paper was the paper of the fellow travelers," says Belfrage.

"They were socialistically minded people who were not members of the Communist party. They disagreed with some large or small part of the program or with the way they operated. But they were

more than willing to cooperate with them on anything they believed in. And they refused to join in witch-hunting."

Belfrage was in the U.S. off and on in the '20s and '30s; in 1937 he applied for citizenship. When the five required years of waiting had elapsed, he was editing information for British intelligence in New York and had to keep his British citizenship. In 1944, when time ran out on his citizenship application, he was in Germany, working under Gen. Eisenhower in a cooperative Allied project to de-Nazify the German press.

"We would throw Nazis out and tell them they could never again work in journalism. We just took buildings, we took paper, we took ink, we took people, we got them together and said, 'you get out a paper.' Then we told the mayor to pay their wages," says Belfrage of that effort.

He later wrote a book about the experience, *Seeds of Destruction*. "It's one of two books written about that time and they've been absolutely buried," he says. "No one wants it talked about. When the Cold War started, the policy was turned upside down. The Nazis were back editing newspapers by 1946."

While in Germany, Belfrage met fellow journalist James Aronson. "We were disgusted. Here we were, founding newspapers all over Germany, and when we got home we'd have to get jobs on some lousy sheet again and be either high-priced or low-priced whores. So we talked about starting our own paper."

## In the teeth of the gale.

When they returned to the States, they worked for two years and then launched the *National Guardian*, "in the teeth of a gale," the beginning of the Cold War.

"I knew I'd never get citizenship then; everything had changed so fast," says Belfrage. Like many left activists, he was branded a "premature anti-fascist" for participation in the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League and the Committee for a Democratic Spain before the U.S. joined World War II.

The paper began loosely aligned with Henry Wallace's Progressive party presidential campaign in 1948. The campaign provided the organization necessary to build circulation for the new paper.

"At first they didn't want us. But the rank and file of the Progressive party, who were marvelous people, all over the country, were organized, reachable and desperate for literature. They just grabbed for this paper. Our circulation went up very fast," says Belfrage.

Later, when the party began to break up, many people turned to the *National Guardian* as the only source of information they could find on many issues.

## Korea and the Rosenbergs.

"We questioned the Korean War from the very first issue. We gave whatever we could of the North Korean side. That was before Joseph McCarthy, but hysteria was still rising," he says.

Next came the case of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. They were tried and sentenced to death for allegedly passing atom bomb secrets to the Soviet Union. The Rosenberg's lawyer asked the *National Guardian* to take up the defense after the couple was sentenced. "We did. We were the only paper to do so. And a tremendous world-wide campaign to save them stemmed out of the series," says Belfrage.

Some of this news was available in the Communist paper, the *Daily Worker*. But in the very first issue, the *National Guardian* began reporting on both sides of the split between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, to the chagrin of staff members who were close to the party.

The paper survived on crumpled dollar bills sent by readers from small towns across the U.S. Belfrage says there were a lot of payless paydays, but the staff held together for years in spite of political differences.

As early as 1948 Belfrage was called before a Grand Jury as an alleged Russian spy. The House Un-American Activities Committee called him. "There were dozens of people in those days who would name their own mothers as Russian spies to get a headline or a buck," says Belfrage. But there was no evidence, and the charges were dropped.

## A silent press.

Finally Sen. Joe McCarthy's committee called him in 1953. "We all took the Fifth Amendment. We felt they were asking questions they had no right to ask, and properly we should have taken the First Amendment because we were running a newspaper," he says.

But the Hollywood Ten had all taken the First Amendment and were in jail. Says Belfrage, "If we'd done that, the paper would have died."

McCarthy was out of the room the day Belfrage appeared. Sen. Stuart Symington ordered the deportation. Belfrage was arrested the next day at the *National Guardian* and held on Ellis Island for a month. He was let out on \$5,000 bail supplied by a reader.

Released, he edited the paper for two more years. He was confined to a small area of New York and New Jersey—the same are in which the U.S. government confines many UN visitors and diplomats today.

In 1955 two people swore he was a member of the Communist party. One of them was Martin Berkeley, a record name-namer. Belfrage was deported.

The press was silent about it, except for editorials in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and *I.F. Stone's Weekly*. "Here was a fellow editor, arrested and deported without charges. The lack of a professional fraternity among journalists joined in making these things possible," he says.

Belfrage continued as "editor in exile" until 1967, when some *Guardian* staffers staged what Belfrage calls a "palace coup" and ousted Aronson. Today, Belfrage lives with his wife, Mary, in Mexico.

## Repeal McCarran/Walter Act.

An American citizen, Mary has been forced to choose between living with her husband or in her country. She once spent 18 months without a passport.

She points out that the press constantly fusses about "the Soviet Union, how they won't let people get married, or the wives out, or the husbands in, and it regularly reaches the front pages of the *New York Times*. But when I couldn't get a passport in 1963, Cedric was in Mexico. And all they would say to me here was that Washington wasn't doing anything." She finally went to Mexico on a tourist card and for a time thought she might have to give up her citizenship to travel.

Belfrage's supporters have been quietly lobbying Congress to repeal the McCarran/Walter Act, which keeps thousands of foreigners whose politics the government finds suspect out of the U.S. Rep. Drinan (D-MA) introduced such legislation early this year.

According to the law, Belfrage could have returned after five years if he'd spent the time publicly denouncing Communists. "I have no intention of doing that," he says. "If I'm going to say things against the Communist party, I'll say it in a friendly atmosphere. I often do. But I have no intention of doing it for the anti-Communists' benefit."



Jane Warrick

Mary and Cedric Belfrage.